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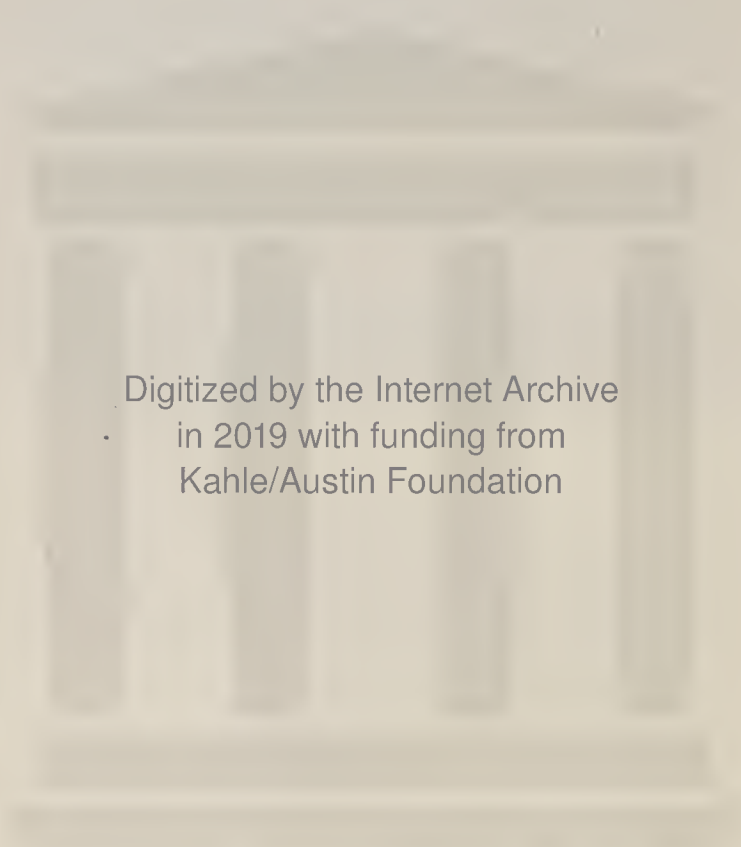
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THE  
RELIGIOUS WARFARE  
IN NOVA SCOTIA

1855—1860

ITS POLITICAL ASPECT

THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE'S PART IN IT  
AND THE ATTITUDE OF CATHOLICS

BY

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## PREFACE

 HIS work is not designed to cover specially the treatment accorded to Catholics by either political party prior to the strife in question further than to show, for the purpose of reflection when considering its causes, that it was not at any time moderately just. They were a minority, and minorities generally suffer.

Honourable William Young, in his first speech on the motion which resulted in the defeat of his Government in February, 1857, quoted from "The Cross," and repeated himself as a fact:—"that of the 80,000 Catholics in the Province during the Conservative regime from 1841 to 1848, not one held even the petty position of a Postmaster in a Country Village, and that no Frenchman received two pounds a year in any official position."

During the same speech he also said:—"The Catholic body I know to be as loyal subjects of The Queen as any in the Province; distinguished for their industry, and alive to the promptings of their ambition."

"During much of the period mentioned the government was a coalition one and Howe was a member of it.

It is improbable that a change of any moment in regard to Catholics occurred between 1848 and 1857, when Premier Young made the speech quoted from.

The writer's main purpose was to present, as nearly as was possible, an accurate account

of the strife, and its main incidents. His one regret is that so little original material could be found from the Catholic side to enable it to be presented fully and accurately.

If it should be thought that too many quotations are made from Howe's speeches and letters, it can only be said in explanation that they were given to show they were not sudden outbursts, but were deliberate utterances, extended over several years, and had the approval of his leading political associates and party. His principal aim was to drive Catholics out of the liberal party, and when that was accomplished he accused them of deserting him and their party.

A justification of these pages, apart from their accuracy, or fulness, lies in the fact that they cover several stirring years of our Provincial, and political life and struggles—during which much history was made, and many material changes took place which have never been told in collected history or biography. A valid reason cannot be offered for leaving that eventful period and its many important events, out of our annals.

It may, in this connection, be forcibly urged that even if Dr. Saunders related, and discussed, some of the main features of the strife in question yet these pages, assuming their substantial accuracy and completeness, will reach, and inform greater numbers than his large, and expensive

volume which embraced so much matter outside of that period and, it is said, has had a limited sale.

Owing to the silence of so many writers upon that period, and upon Howe's life, and the very limited facts heretofore given upon the subject, even by those who referred to it, it is a safe conclusion that very few, if any of today, have any knowledge of moment of that long and bitter quarrel, its causes or results. This condition is due to the fact that so far as history and biography are concerned, that strife, what gave rise to it, who originated it, who took a leading part in it, or what consequences flowed from it, have never been narrated with any degree of fulness—and some of what was told is quite inaccurate.

It has been truly said that history is everywhere of all days and events; and it enables those of later days and times to profit by the past, and serves as a guide and inspiration for the future. It is therefore hoped that what may be gleaned from this humble composition will operate as a restraint upon those disposed to create religious strife for unworthy ends.

I desire to express my grateful thanks to Professor E. W. Connolly for valuable assistance cordially rendered. And likewise to Miss Donahoe the Legislative Librarian.

January 1927.

N. H. MEAGHER.



# THE ANTI-CATHOLIC WARFARE 1855-1860, ITS ORIGIN AND CONSEQUENCES, &c.

## EARLY CONDITIONS

**I**N the somewhat early days of this Province the political matters which engaged the attention of our people, and public men were: our relations with the Mother Country, the composition, powers, and conduct of the Council of Twelve, in which members of the English Church were all powerful; the limited powers of the Assembly; the separation of the Executive from the Legislative Council; the large salaries paid to officials appointed by the Home Government—none of them accountable to the people, their great powers, and the tenure of their official positions. In later years the extensive ownership of Provincial minerals by the General Mining Association, its title, and conduct, our demand for responsible government, currency, education, raising a revenue, the terms of the civil list Bill of 1849, which for the first time gave us the control of our casual and territorial revenues, and building railways,—were subjects of agitation and controversy. Party spirit may have existed in the earlier of those days but it was of little moment until the struggle for responsible government acquired strength.

## THE PENAL LAWS

The penal laws, with their grievous disabilities upon Catholics, together with the feelings they engendered, endured for many years in our earliest history. The position they put Catholics in in the eyes of their non-Catholic neighbours, namely, as a body practising a form of religion to be feared, and therefore to be suppressed, had much to do with creating, and perpetuating, the spirit to which Dr. Saunders refers when he says in "The Three Premiers," page 286,—“that evidences have come down to us that at that time, (between 1856 and 1860) strong prejudices against Catholics did exist.”

Catholic emancipation from the severe trammels of those laws, though it came tardily, was, to the credit of Protestants, gained without much clamour or struggle. Objections were made with some earnestness and frequency.

The disposition shown towards that step continued, at least so far as outward manifestations went, until after the Honorable Joseph Howe made his call in 1856 to Protestants to unite and resist Catholic aggressiveness.

While such laws were in terms extremely severe, and covered nearly every aspect of Catholic life, they were not often, if ever, invoked through the agency of the courts. They contained provisions, however, which operated automatically:—such as prohibiting Priests from dwelling in the Province; penalizing those who

gave them shelter; disabling Catholics from becoming members of the Assembly, acquiring, or holding, lands; from appointing guardians for their children, and requiring Protestants to be appointed for them; liability to assessment in aid of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Halifax; and excluding Catholics from teaching positions, and organizing Catholic schools. These conditions could not fail to beget illiteracy and subserviency in that body.

During much of the earlier periods adverted to, the people, through lack of newspapers, and by reason of their arduous struggles with forest, and sea, to gain a living, were largely mind-free from political affairs, and whatever the dispositions of Protestants respecting their Catholic neighbours, and their religion, may have been, their relations were, it is believed, neighbourly.

During the Lord Durham discussions, William Young, later Sir William, wrote him that: "Religious dissensions are happily unknown among us."

None of the subjects agitated, or controversies mentioned, were connected with doctrinal, or religious questions, or the attitude of any religious body, unless it may have been against the great predominance of Episcopalians in the old-time Council, and government positions, or the quarrel between Howe and the Baptists



about 1843. At any rate Catholics were not involved in any.

During the generalelection of 1843 Howe said:—  
“A few of the leading men of the Irish Roman Catholic faith sought to force themselves on the Roman Catholic electors.”

A cry of threatened Catholic, ascendancy was raised by Conservatives in 1847—due to their co-operation with the Liberal party. In a speech on Collegiate education, to be found at 365, volume one, <sup>(1)</sup> of his own biography, Howe said:—“He had been accused of cracking the whip of Catholic ascendancy over a protestant population \* \* \* What cause existed for the prejudice attempted? The Catholics had one member of their church in the Legislative Council, none in the Executive Council, and but three or four in the Assembly. They had conducted themselves with that modesty and moderation, which entitled them to credit. They had less than what might be considered their fair share of political power. And they were content, and supported the Government because they approved of its principles. They asked no ascendancy, nor any undue share of patronage.”

As far as can be ascertained there was nothing in the conditions of the Province in 1856, nor of the political parties, or the relations between any religious bodies then, just previously, or remotely, to justify the bitter anti-Catholic strife which convulsed the Province between

(1) The first ~~edition~~.



about the end of that year and the middle of 1860.

This view is supported by the Honorable Jonathan McCully, one of Howe's active supporters, in a letter to the Chronicle of September 13th, 1858 in which he said:—"At no previous period, perhaps, in the history of the Province have party feeling, and sectional animosity, been so rampant as at the present moment, and yet at no period for the last thirty years, it will be admitted on all hands, have there been so few great distinctive principles in agitation to *produce, or justify*, such a state of things." The facts and the context pointed to the religious strife then raging.

During 1856 Howe began his correspondence campaign in the Chronicle against Catholics. It was the bitterest quarrel the Province ever experienced. Symptoms of its approach appeared somewhat early in 1856, but it did not become at all general until after the end of that year. Its actual duration cannot be definitely fixed; its influence, however, continued long after its violence ceased. Its harmful effects upon the rising generation cannot be measured. Feelings were aroused, and, with some, became more or less permanent, and liable to endure. It separated old-time friends and neighbours, broke up cordial family relations, caused many feuds, much animosity, and created wide spread hostility between Catholics and Protestants.

The conduct of the great mass of the Catholics, before, and since then, strikingly demonstrates the falsity of the more serious charges made against them, of their intentions in politics, and towards their Protestant neighbours.

During the progress of that sordid crusade fair discussion, truth, and christian charity, were ignored, and their opposites practised over the Province, and in these Howe took the lead.

#### THE COURSE PURSUED

The unchristian conflict was vigorously supported, and with much rancour and persistency, by politicians, partisan newspapers, and regrettable to say, by many clergymen, whose lips, and and tongues, should have been devoted to truth and charity, and by denominational papers whose duty was to advocate christian principles, good will and truth. Calumny and misrepresentation in religious, historical and political matters, and in aggravating terms, were the chief weapons employed against Catholics,—(then about one-third of the population)—their good faith, loyalty, and their intention to persecute those not of their faith. The aim of Howe, and those supporting him, appeared to be to establish conditions which meant that religious freedom consisted of hostility to Catholics and their religion.

#### THE PROTESTANT ALLIANCE

The Protestant Alliance, one of Howe's chief weapons, was formed through his appeals. Com-

mittees of leading Protestants were organized throughout the Province under his advice to carry on the work he inaugurated. Not until he had thoroughly angered the Catholics nor until the campaign of vilification had reached an acute stage, was there any recrimination of moment. These later took the form of anonymous letters and editorials in, "The Halifax Catholic" and "The Cross." Unfortunately they too often imitated Howe's provoking intemperate style. This was a serious mistake: it added fuel to the flames, and bitterness to the times, and should have been avoided on the strong grounds of expediency and christianity. Howe enjoyed what was flung at him; he coveted it. He had an extensive press, and other agencies, at his back, to give much wider circulation to what he, and others, said and wrote than they had. Their attacks and criticisms, gave him fresh texts for further fiery onslaughts, of which he took full advantage, and perverted history gave him abundant material which he used unsparingly. Denials when true, arguments when well founded, and explanations when proper, should alone have been used by Catholics in meeting his attacks. Anything else was unwise and evil. Some of the anonymous correspondence in Howe's Press, and a good many of the Chronicle editorials, were evidently written by him. His style was peculiar to himself, and easily recognized, and some of the opposing

anonymous correspondence was probably Wm. Condon's. The opposition given Howe in this way helped his object materially.

The Catholics in leaving the liberal party, (the accusation most often used against them) were not guilty of treachery, nor of the violation of any honourable principle, nor did they invade any Protestant right, or act hastily. There was no tie of principle or gratitude, binding them to the liberal party for all time and under all conditions. They were freemen, and exercised the right of freemen. Every denomination in the Province would have acted in like manner under the same, or similar, circumstances.

The latter part of 1856, and part of a somewhat earlier day, and the whole of the early part of 1857, prior to the defeat of the Government, were taken up by Howe, and others assisting him, in defaming the Catholics with evil conduct and intentions. It had done its work effectively. The Catholic mind was angered by his language and conduct, and was convinced the Government was in sympathy with him throughout. There was therefore no necessity for Ecclesiastical pressure at that juncture, and Howe could not show any was used.

#### THE CATHOLIC POSITION

Catholics had been, and were, united in support of the principles of the liberal party, of their religion, and of religious education in schools,

but upon no other subjects affecting general welfare. In regard to religious education liberty of opinion was most desirable. Their religious principles rendered it an absolute necessity. Opposition was inevitable. Each religious body clung to its own views and unanimity was impossible. It was not however until long after Howe's campaign began that the question of separate schools arose, and was added to the grave indictment he had previously preferred against the Catholics.

The Catholics possessed strong grounds of defence to Howe's grave charges. But, so far as available records disclose, they were not employed as effectively as they might have been. Because of the lack of specific instances, supported by evidence of times, parties and circumstances, they could be met only by denials. These threw the burden of proof upon those supporting the accusations. With respect to the charge of undue pressure upon the Government, not in itself a serious offence, so often and so loudly, asserted in Press and Speech, the proof of it, if any, was in the possession of the Executive, and its departmental officers. None was offered, except what was alleged touching the action of McKeagney and McLeod which was well answered.

It is regrettable specific instances in support of the charges were not given. Thousands believe them without proof, and thus the situa-



tion of the accused was seriously prejudiced. The misdeeds, and evil intentions, attributed to Catholics, such for example, as a combination to persecute Protestants, and dominate political affairs, would have been suicidal under any circumstances that existed at any time in the Province. This view rendered such a course altogether improbable.

There was a clear, palpable, distinction between the course pursued by Howe, and the writers and speakers, aiding him, and that of Catholic writers. The former attacked Catholic behaviour, past and intended, reviled their religious belief, impeached their loyalty, slandered their spiritual Sovereign and their Hierarchy—while that of the latter was almost, if not wholly, limited to denials, personal attacks and charges against opposing politicians, individual clergymen and the Alliance.

Howe repeatedly claimed his campaign was in resistance of united Catholic pressure and aggressiveness, but beyond his and Young's and Press' assertions he gave no evidence to substantiate it.

He was the recognized leader, of the Liberal party, which then held the reins of government, and supported his declared purpose of excluding Catholics from participation in political life. He disavowed that intention a few times, but his language, spoken and written, is in direct

conflict with the truth of that denial, and proves his insincerity. The right to take part in political affairs was an inherent civil right, equally so that of maintaining, or defeating, a government; but Catholics, under his platform, were to be denied these, merely because of their religious belief. A more unjust form of political proscription cannot well be imagined.

If he was sincere in his efforts it manifested a strange inconsistency with his previous life, which he never defended or explained; if he was not, the conclusion must be that he acted the part of a demagogue, and displayed a determination to destroy, or suppress for many years, at least, the civil and political rights of the Catholic minority.

It is distressing to say this of one who, otherwise, deserved so well of Nova Scotia. But history should be truthful as far as possible, and reproduce actions, facts, and happenings correctly, and apportion credit, and blame, impartially.

Throughout the struggle diligent efforts were made, by Liberal leaders, to put out of sight all mere party questions, and faulty Executive administration, and to rely for success upon anti-Catholic attacks. This is evidenced by the fact, that soon after the struggle began, Howe and Young, and others aiding them, repeatedly declared that "the Liberal and Conservative parties were at an end, and that it was a quest-

ion of Catholic and Protestant." This presumably, was said, in part, to divert attention from imputed liberal mismanagement.

The insidious, and inflammatory appeals to Protestants to unite and form one body, free from party allegiance, and thus render the government independent of Catholic support, and a wholly Protestant one, was a device to detach Conservatives from their party, bring them to Howe's side, and through their help in the coming general election, regain official place, pay, and power for him and the liberal party.

#### HOWE'S POSITION

It was, to him, an unpardonable sin for Catholics to seek, or hold, power, place, or influence, in Government, or Provincial affairs, or assist in displacing governments; these were exclusively Protestant rights under his creed, and associated with them was the Protestant duty of combining, and thus dominating their Catholic brethren, who, under that regime, would simply be sharers in the common prosperity, or sufferers in the common depression, as directed by their Protestant neighbours. He never stopped to reflect that if Protestants dominated, and that was what he sought, then Catholics were dominated, and thus lost their freedom.

Those desirous of learning the bitterness of those days and the coarse language, and opprobrious terms, used towards Catholics, their



Hierarchy, clergy, their belief, good faith and loyalty, will find it in abundance, and in vilest form, in the Presbyterian Witness, the most vulgar, untruthful, and virulent of all. Its writers forgot, if they ever knew, God's commandment not to bear false witness against one's neighbour. The Chronicle was a sturdy second and was closely followed by other lesser public organs. Howe, Jonathan McCully, and Anand were the principal writers for the Chronicle. From these it will be seen there was no accusation too petty, or malignant, no charge too vile, or untruthful, for use against Catholics, in nearly every branch of Catholic belief and life, and towards every action of the Johnston Government.

The extent to which pettiness was indulged in is evidenced by the following:—On one occasion Wm. Young in the House complained that Attorney General Johnston and Provincial Secretary Tupper held secret converse with John Tobin, the Catholic member for Halifax, in the lobby of the House, at the close of a session! (Chronicle report.)

The Honorable J.W. Johnston in the debate of 1857, referring to the Presbyterian Witness, said:—"That it was filled with denunciations of the Catholic religion, and its Priesthood, in which the English language had been ransacked for epithets insulting and exasperating, and that a deep injury had been inflicted upon the feel-

ings of a religious body, and the government had sanctioned the indignity.”

The only excuse (and in a moral point of view, not to mention others, it is a weak one) which can be offered for Catholics who offended in this respect by way of opposition, or retaliation, is that they received very strong, and uncalled for, provocation from Howe whom they had supported valiantly, and unitedly, in all his difficulties, financial, political and personal, for more than twenty years. A blow from a friend is always hard to bear, and when deemed undeserved, and tainted with ingratitude, is liable to be resented overmuch. Catholics had strong reasons to regard Howe's blows in that light, and the more so because they knew what he said of them was untrue, and were convinced he had no higher purpose than a mere party one—and was insincere.

Many Catholics from such provoking causes it may be well believed, became greatly irritated, and imbued with a bitter spirit towards Howe and perhaps in some measure, towards their separated brethren, whose mouth-piece he appeared to be. But after as careful a survey of available material, as could be made, nothing was found to show that a similar *general* attack upon Protestants their good citizenship, or religion, was made by the Catholics. Their attitude, which was forced upon them by the attacks alluded to, but which they did

not begin was necessarily largely in denial—except in relation to Howe and some other leaders, and writers, which regrettably took a more personal range. Much was unjustifiably said about the Crimean War, England's part in it, and rejoicings over her defeats, and about individual non-Catholic clergymen, of which Howe made excessive use, over-wide application, and upon some of which he put unfair construction.

He devoted all his extraordinary energy and ability to the support of his campaign, and to that end, employed greater denunciation and exaggeration, coarser language, and ascribed worse motives, and principles, to Catholics, than he ever did towards any party, or body, in any of his fierce quarrels.

Many are too apt to judge causes, and controversies, by the position, and reputation, of those who advocate them. Howe's standing in public life gave his accusations and opinions an effect which cannot be estimated.

If Catholics were as evil, and designing, as he depicted them, much of those qualities may have been attributable to the lack of education, especially general Catholic education, of which they, and their parents, were so largely deprived through the penal laws, and the conditions they produced, which prevented their rise in the social scale.

No public man in Nova Scotia ever approached him in power of invective, or in making the worse appear the better reason, or in distorting the views, and misrepresenting more extremely the conduct, and language, of those opposed to him. He employed all these qualities to destroy confidence in the fairness, loyalty, and integrity of Catholics, and to fasten upon them, their Hierarchy, and Priesthood, principles, and habits of intolerance, treachery, and underhand efforts (all of which they abhorred), to obtain control of political affairs, and persecute their Protestant fellow countrymen. Thus it became a conflict, emblazoned with coarse accusations, and revilings, most of them devoid of truth, and few, perhaps none fair, or entirely just.

#### IT WAS A POLITICAL MOVE

It was not in its origin a religious quarrel; there was no ground for one. It was a species of strategy Howe deemed necessary in the interests of the liberal party, and, especially, to retrieve his fallen fortunes, personal and political. He possessed great popularity and wielded tremendous influence, but was out of power in political life and anxious to regain it, and he, both in benefit, and fact, the real leader of his party. It was at first his personal quarrel only, and with a very few persons, but soon through his guidance, aided in some degree perhaps, by the opposition he received, it became

widened, and embraced his party, and brought it into conflict with the Catholic body.

Before detailing the happenings which preceded the strife it will help to elucidate them, and show what prompted them,—to quote the opinions which Reverend George M. Grant and Reverend Dr. Saunders expressed of Howe. The former knew him intimately. Both were earnest students of political life, and close observers of the lives of our public men.

Reverend Mr. Grant at page 74 of his *Sketch of Howe's Life* (1896 edition) says:

“And Howe was an egotist. Friends and colleagues, had known his weakness before, but had scarce ventured to speak of it in public. (This had reference to the Confederation movement). In his cabinets he had suffered no rival. To those who submitted he was as sweet as summer. He would give everything, to, or for, them, keeping nothing for himself. They might have the pelf if he had the power. Proposals that did not emanate from himself got scant justice, in council, or caucus. When Chairman of the Railway Board, out of the Cabinet, but with as much real power as if a member of it, he was restless and dissatisfied; damaged the government by his criticism, and still more by a patronising tone that degraded it. He seemed to be the power behind the throne, or, as the then opposition called him, “The Government Cooper.” This egotism which long



feeding on popular applause had developed into a vanity almost incomprehensible in a man so strong, was not known to the outside world."

Dr. Saunders, at page 290, discussing Howe's speech in the Session of 1858 in preparation for the general election, soon to follow, said:—"It is at this time difficult to believe that, as a leader of a party, he could have decided upon a policy subversive of the principles of the reformers of that day, and of civil and religious liberty. That in moments of violent passion he could attack the whole Catholic body, as he did, because of the acts of a few individuals, is believable, but that after more than a year for reflection, he could publicly declare his purpose to array Protestants and Catholics against each other in a political campaign, is a matter most difficult to accept as a well established fact of Provincial history. At this time he was fifty-four years of age, and had been in public life for twenty years. In obtaining material for proving the soundness, and importance, of responsible government, his investigations had been thorough and exhaustive. Of the principles involved in it he had expressed his convictions in terms clear and convincing. He had made himself familiar with political history, especially that of England and the United States. In his extensive travels in the old and the new world, he had met, heard, and conversed with many eminent Statesmen, and had enjoyed the fullest opportunity of obtain-

ing a clear appreciation of the fundamental principles of self government, and the rights of religious sects, and of all other classes in the State.

“No excuse of ignorance, nor of momentary impulse, can be made for him in his attack on civil, and religious liberty, the plunging of the Province into a scene of bitter, and religious, strife, to say nothing of the loss of prestige and power, from which he never fully recovered. Impossible as in the circumstances it now seems that he could so trample on sound principles, and make himself a popular demagogue,—yet the records of the day prove all this against him. At page 288 the same writer, referring to his course in that strife, says:—“Howe’s generous spirit, if he had one, was for the time paralyzed.”

The foregoing is justified by facts, mostly under Howe’s hand, or from his lips, in published utterances. He had, long before, determined to do what occasioned that author so much surprise, and openly proclaimed his intentions in that respect. His letters on the riot, in the summer of 1856, sufficiently support this view.

#### HOWE’S GREAT SERVICE

The writer of these pages, always an ardent admirer of his great ability, his capacity as a statesman, and his magnificent services to Nova Scotia, yields to no one in appreciation of them. He was decades ahead of his day, and compeers, in foresight and sagacity, in

knowledge of our conditions, in our need of railways, especially the Intercolonial, and the best, the only, way of providing them, and in many other matters of untold value. He did more than giants' work in advancing Provincial interests in general, securing useful laws and making Nova Scotia known, and appreciated abroad, especially by English, Colonial, and neighbouring Statesmen, and in securing the administration of our affairs through responsible government. His services in 1850, and 1851, materially influenced public opinion in England in our direction, and changed the colonial policy of the Home Government greatly to our advantage. Too much credit cannot be accorded him upon these, and many other matters; but like a great many he had weaknesses.

The British statesmen of his earlier days, were practically without knowledge of our conditions, our resources, and needs, and the qualities and intelligence, of our people, and were largely indifferent to our welfare, and the duty they owed us. They were so absorbed in the consideration of large Imperial matters, that they gave little attention to remote colonies like ours. Howe changed this attitude materially, and created interest in us in Home circles. How much we owe him for his services in these, and other matters, cannot be estimated to-day, because we cannot grasp the conditions



which confronted him, nor estimate the tenacity with which they were clung to. In the great services mentioned, he unflinchingly maintained a strong democratic spirit, but in the disturbance under discussion he submerged it entirely, and displayed a determination to suppress, if not destroy, the political rights of the Catholic minority, in the Province. His fiery nature, at times, carried him beyond what he perhaps intended, and passion, apparently overcame his reason. He was always full of himself and his power.

#### THE EXCUSE FOR THE QUARREL

The principal excuse, if it may be called such, for the turbulence, was an altercation in the spring of 1856 between some Catholic and Protestant labourers working on the government railway, which was followed next day by a riot, which was wholly inexcusable in what provoked it, in what led to it, in what it led to, on every ground, and in every aspect; and so far as violence was used it was wholly savage and brutal, and a violation of human and Divine laws.

It arose thus:—A Holy day, the feast of Corpus Christi, arrived. The Catholics working on the railway abstained from work, and went to Mass in obedience to the laws of their Church. Upon their return some very offensive remarks, jeers, and taunts, were flung at them by some Protestants, in ridicule and disparagement of the day, and the purpose for

which the Church set it aside for the worship of God.

Some violence, by way of resentment, may have occurred then. But next day, a rainy one, when work was suspended, the instigator of all evil impelled a number of Catholic labourers, most, perhaps all, of them, of Irish birth or origin, who deemed themselves insulted, and God outraged by the blasphemous, and anger provoking, language addressed to them the day before, to attack by way of retaliation, or revenge, those in Gourlay's shanty who were parties to the conduct mentioned.

#### WHAT ANGERED HOWE

Howe was in an angry mood through the action of Wm. Condon, the President of the Charitable Irish Society, and a Catholic, and by the supposed attitude of Irish Catholics, touching his recruiting labors in the States for the Foreign legion, and the treatment of men sent here from Boston. Apart from any effect these may have had upon him, in suggesting a pretext for raising an anti-Catholic storm, it can be fairly said, again, that the later quarrel was not, in its inception, a religious one, though that result was evidently intended by its promoter.

The riot at Gourlay's, evil though it was, would have been practically forgotten by the public in a few weeks at most but for Howe's elaborate

exploitation of it. The Recorder newspaper, said at the time, "We have reliable authority for saying that the late riot was nothing at all like such a formidable affair as was at first reported."

The Chronicle, three days after it, described it "a faction fight", and said that three buildings were attacked, which was untrue. There was but one—and there was not another within two miles of it.

One letter to the Chronicle said: "When news of the riot reached the several sections of the Country, and it was told that a large body of, Irishmen had attacked, and cruelly beaten several men, *for no other reason than that they were Scotchmen and Protestants*, there was a feeling of indignation aroused that volunteers could have been collected to clear the track of every one of those fellows."

These incidents are given to show that current reports were not reliable.

Howe soon after said in the Press:—"It was an attack upon Protestants, prompted by Catholic intolerance, and bigotry, with the intention to rule the Province and dominate Protestantism." He never offered proof for that conclusion, nor was any ever given to show that the riot sprang from anything other than bad temper caused by the remarks addressed by Protestants to the attackers on the tenderest principle of their religious belief, the day before

No fair minded person possessed of the facts, can find in the riot, and its provoking causes, any ground for imputing it to any concerted plan, or general evil purpose, on the part of Catholics, specially, or generally, towards Protestants. There is as much ground for saying that the language of the Protestants the day before the riot evinced a combined intention on the part of Protestants to prevent Catholics exercising their faith, and to suppress it; that is, none at all.

#### THE CHARGES UNSUPPORTED BY FACTS

It can be stated, with entire confidence that no grounds were ever shown to justify the conclusion that a desire to dominate, or persecute Protestants, or rule the Province, existed, or had aught to do in bringing about that riot, or that any Catholics, Priests, or laymen, outside of the actual participators in it, had acted, part, or parcel, in its promotion, or execution, or knew it was intended to be made. Dr. Allison in his history, pages 734, 735, Volume 2, referring to that riot said:—"Whether there had been religious disputes and altercations in advance of what happened on *Corpus Christi* day we are not informed. But on that day some demon of discord impelled Protestants to jeer in a peculiarly offensive and objectionable manner with the most *august and sacred article* of the Roman Catholic faith. Instead of confining their indignation to verbal remonstrances,

the Irishmen flew to cudgels, and in their attack on Gourlay's shanty shed blood, and came alarmingly near actual homicide. Before the riotous attack was quelled personal injuries were inflicted the marks of which the victims bore to their graves. There is nothing in this unfortunate incident enough to require it to be noticed in these pages, nor do the relative demerits of the parties to it require discussion. It led however to more important consequences. Within a day or two there appeared a letter in one of the Halifax papers, over the signature of Joseph Howe, than which few letters published in our Provincial newspapers ever produced a greater sensation. It was in effect an appeal to the Protestants of Nova Scotia to mass themselves, in close array, to resist the aggressions of the Catholic Church. It asserted, and the assertion could not have been made in more revolting terms to Roman Catholics, learned and unlearned alike, the right of Protestants to publicly express themselves in whatever language they chose regarding the mysteries of faith held by the church of Rome. The corresponding right of Roman Catholic to abuse the religion of their Protestant neighbours was of course admitted, but so mildly as to suggest that, after all, Protestantism, neither in faith, or practice, presented any vulnerable points. Mr. Howe was chairman of the Railway Board. Had he in that capacity addressed a missive to the



workmen along the railway that they must refrain from animadversion on the religion of their fellow workmen, and that if provoked, they must refrain from physical retaliation, every reasonable man in Nova Scotia would have approved his course. What was rightly objected to was the attempt to found on the riot incident proof of a Roman Catholic determination to ride rough-shod over the rights of all other creeds, and dominate Nova Scotia. One circumstance surely should have given pause to Howe's crusade, before hasty irritation had developed into a settled purpose, which perhaps more than any other cause had contributed to his obtaining, and retaining power. Plainly the strong support of the Roman Catholic electorate was given without stint or qualification. Every Roman Catholic member in the Assembly was a liberal, and so it had been, in every Assembly, since the modern alignment of parties began. At every general election since 1840, with the possible exception of the last one, Mr. Johnston had polled a decided majority of the Protestant electors, and what was granted for this unflinching support? A couple of seats in the Cabinet, and during the period of Mr. Howe's supremacy from 1847 to 1855, but a single occupant of a salaried ministerial office,—and that one a Legislative Councillor in a minor position. Struck this unexpected blow, the Roman Catholic Priesthood and laity, might well exclaim, “Et tu Brute!”

After relating the defeat of Young's Government in 1857, and Howe's resignation as Chairman of the Railway Board, Dr. Allison, page 736 says:—"He (Howe) addressed a letter to the people of Nova Scotia challenging them to action in the interests of endangered Protestantism, the only safe-guard for which was the perpetual exclusion of Roman Catholics from official positions. To promote centralization of effort he announced the formation of a Protestant Alliance, which proved to be a very efficient electoral organization, until, having served its purpose, it was quietly interred after the ensuing general election in 1859. Mr. Howe delivered a good many speeches in the Assembly during the sessions of 1857, 1858 and 1859, but none of them are reproduced in the Howe volumes. His memory will not suffer by the suppression."

The strife, as already stated, sprang from political necessities, and desires; was maintained in aid of them, and subsided in 1860, so far as open warfare went, when its purpose was achieved, and the liberal party was again in power.

The Catholics had no organization, and there was no lay Catholic of recognized ability to serve as leader. Its side of the controversy therefore, was left to individual effort, and the support of the "Halifax Catholic", a privately owned, and lay managed, weekly newspaper, "The Cross", a monthly magazine,

published under the direction of one of the Priests of St. Mary's Rectory, (one who brought strong antipathy towards England from his Irish home); and "The Antigonish Casket," also a weekly one, privately owned and managed; all of limited circulation, and consequently of little influence. "The Casket" remained neutral in the conflict until the spring of 1857, perhaps later, when it became convinced Young's liberal government had sanctioned Howe's conduct towards Catholics. "The Recorder" then owned by the elder Mr. Blackadar, and John English, (a Catholic and its editor), lent its support to the Catholic side. These were their only publications. "The Chronicle" on February 13th, 1857, said:—"Excepting "The Halifax Catholic" and "The Recorder," not a paper in the Province had expressed an opinion *against* Howe, or in favor of "the Brigade"—the offensive term applied to Catholics during the conflict. This shows Howe was the leader, and how quickly, and widely, his project took root.

The diligent efforts made by Liberal leaders to put out of sight all party questions, and alleged defective Liberal administration, and rely for success upon Anti-Catholic clamour, show they regarded the campaign as a Catholic and Protestant conflict in relation to politics, and to excite in the latter body greater enthusiasm in the matter of Catholic proscription, and thus



secure, as far as possible, a united Protestant electorate. Another purpose was to detach Protestant Conservatives from their party, gain their assistance in the approaching election, and thus regain official place, power and pay. It is evidenced by what Young said in 1859, page 93 of the debates in reference to the events of 1857, namely—"I was determined, and those who acted with me were determined, to have a Government established *on a Protestant basis*, not liable to be overturned at any moment by Priest, or Prelate, nor by a combination of any five or six, the adherents of a particular faith." In words a monopoly of Protestant Government.

When the Conservative papers (they were few), including some denominational ones, supporting that party, realized, at a somewhat late hour, that Howe's Crusade, while extremely anti-Catholic in terms, was political in aim, they gradually opposed it, (and this applies more immediately to the denominational ones), not so much, if at all, in advocacy, or defence, of the Catholic aspect, as in condemnation of Howe's language, and purpose, and especially to restrain Conservatives from being seduced into the liberal party for political ends. Some of the denominational papers were, at the outset, quite hostile and offensive towards Catholics. This is proved by reference to quotations from several of them in "The

Chronicle" during February and March, 1857.

#### THE CATHOLIC COURSE

The agitation, did not seriously affect the general Catholic attitude towards the liberal party until the winter of 1857, perhaps with a good many, like "The Casket", even later. Catholics were slow to change their life-long political allegiance, and this because Howe was not a member of the liberal government, frequently criticized it, and therefore his conduct was not regarded as having government sanction. It was not until the government showed distinct sympathy with his course, and that it was influenced by him, that it forfeited general Catholic support. The fact that it continued to enjoy Catholic confidence for months after the conflict began, ought to have convinced all people that Catholics were not united, and were not seeking the overthrow of the liberal government, nor aiming to dominate, and persecute Protestants.

The writer, after considerable enquiry in Antigonish, succeeded in gaining access to only a fragmentary unbound volume, of "The Casket" for 1857. The matter gleaned from it touching this crisis, was an editorial in January, upon Howe, (probably prompted by his accusing letter of the previous month), which said there was no occasion to slander, and vilify, one third of the people of Nova Scotia, for the faults or misconduct of a few, and urged peace and con-

cord. In an editorial in February it said it had learned that some Catholics, because of Howe's action, had decided to oppose the government, and expressed unqualified disapproval of such a premature resolution, on the ground that Howe was not a member of the government, and that tangible reasons must exist to justify leaving the liberal party, and that it should, in the absence of contrary evidence, be assumed that the government would discountenance evidence of injustice. In May it published McKeagney's speech in the House which contained a vindication of himself, and complaints of unjust government treatment. It also criticized a "Chronicle" editorial attacking Honorable John McKinnon, a member for the county. From time to time it published a few anonymous letters, discussing with severity, but not extremely, Howe's platform and behaviour. One in the same line copied from a Yarmouth paper, was more severe than the rest. It eventually concluded that Condon's dismissal from a government position was at Howe's request, and proved the government was in sympathy with his anti-Catholic crusade. Its subsequent course, so far as that volume showed, while in **earnest** hostility, was not open to censure for unfairness or severity.

The conservative party did not, nor did the Catholics, create the conditions, or events, out of which Howe's actions arose. This is also

true of the liberal party. It was Howe's act alone, and arose from the wrongful use he made of Condon's action, the riot, and the Foreign Legion incidents. No person of well balanced mind can find in the facts, any ground for imputing to Catholics any concerted plan, or purpose, to do what Howe, on his own word alone, charged them with. The record in that respect is an entirely barren one.

## WHAT THE STRIFE PRODUCED

THE following, amongst other results, may very fairly be said, to have flown from that strife, namely,—

*One:*—It drove the Catholics out of the Liberal party, which they previously supported with singular devotion and unanimity, and forced them into the Conservative one for protection.

*Two:*—It also drew out of the conservative party, and into the liberal one, all who were influenced by Howe's call upon Protestants "to unite and exclude Catholics from all official positions," and all who were influenced by his accusations against them. Thus both parties were disrupted. That call formed Howe's creed, and platform, and the party he guided in the general election of 1859. It was a specific call, not open to misconstruction. It meant that Catholics were to be proscribed, to be deprived of political influence, to be degraded in the eyes of the world, to be denied their birth right of freedom, and to be disqualified in the exercise of usefulness in the political life of the future.

*Three:*—It gave birth to the Protestant Alliance, to aid in embittering the struggle, and to assist in making proscription effective. It did its work with great energy and perseverance.

*Four:*—It caused, in large measure, the defeat of the liberal government in 1857,—and the formation of the Johnston-Tupper one, and led,

soon after, to the resignation by Howe of the Chairmanship of the Railway Board, which he held from 1854.

*Five:*—It convulsed the Province, and to party spirit, was added religious acrimony, backed by unfounded calumnies against Catholics, and their religion, and similar retorts,—which destroyed peace and christian charity.

*Six:*—It restored the liberal party to power in 1860, and brought about the formation of a liberal government, without a Catholic in it, with Wm. Young at its head, through which he afterwards received the Chief Justiceship; a success won on the ruins of christian charity.

*Seven:*—It brought about the acrimonious debates in the Assembly of 1857, 1858, and 1859, in which Catholics were savagely denounced and misrepresented. The same course was pursued on the hustings, and wherever such speeches were deemed useful to energise Protestant public opinion against them.

*Eight:*—It also caused the famous constitutional debates in the House in 1858, 1859, and 1860, over proscription, dismissals from office, appointment of Catholics to office, disqualification of members, the trials thereon, in which the commission of perjury was declared to have frequently occurred, the heated controversy with the Governor and the Home authorities, on constitutional questions, and procedure, and



the ill-advised correspondence touching Young's appointment to the Bench.

*Nine:*—It was at the root of the fierce liberal opposition to the proposed enactment, abolishing the small electoral townships, or districts, and merging them in the counties within which they were situate, on the ground that it would increase Catholic influence over the government, and was proof of Catholic domination and injurious to Protestants. The newspapers assisting Howe teemed with articles and correspondence, advocating its defeat on the grounds mentioned, which never missed the opportunity to vilify Catholics.

One of the objections most strenuously made in the House, and Press, and otherwise, was that it would give the Catholics 15 or 16 members in the House, out of 55. Those who urged it knew that such an event was impossible. But if possible it would only give that body their fair proportion. They formed a third of the population and upon that basis 18 would be their fair quota.

At that time there were 18 counties, and out of these 22 townships, or electoral districts, were carved, each of which sent a member to the Assembly. It was a wise enactment, but the opposition to it helped to further inflame the Protestant mind against Catholics and the government. It provided, as nearly as was possible, for a member for every unit of five thous-

and in population. Before then the representation in that respect was quite unequal.<sup>(2)</sup>

It proved to be a great boon, was just and fair, and the fact that no attempt has been made to restore any of the conditions it ended, is conclusive evidence in its favour. There were three kinds of representation then, counties, townships, and districts. County representation alone was retained.

Inverness County at that time, largely Catholic, was fourth in population. Halifax, Picton, and Cape Breton Counties, were the only ones of larger numbers. It had only two members, while Colchester had four, Kings four, Hants five, Lunenburg three, and Yarmouth three; all lower in population, and Protestant counties! One example, of what was said, upon the proposed act need only be given:—It is part of a “Chronicle” editorial, and was quoted by Provincial Secretary Tupper during the debate on the Bill:—“This last attempt of Johnston to sell his country, and mart her freedom, for a new lease of power, if he succeeds, will be a black, and may originate a *bloody*, page to Colonial history!”

About the same time some bigot wrote “The Chronicle” thus:—“What? Take a member from the loyal Protestant population of Hants, and hand him over to Catholic Inverness? Can human nature stand such an insult? Are we really to be sold to the Pope? The question

(2) The township of Falmouth had ~~over~~ 120 Electors.

*only*  
✓



“is beginning gravely to be asked whether the “time is not near at hand when something more “*than argument* will be found necessary, to “assert our rights and liberties.” These are mentioned merely in proof of existing conditions, and the spirit created by the strife.

It also, through the change of government, probably influenced the opposition to the ratification in 1858 of the settlement made by the Johnston government with the General Mining Association which ended the controversies with that body, and the Imperial Government, and the vain, political, uses, at substantial public cost, made of them by Wm. Young for about twenty-five years. No event in our history had as beneficial an effect upon our financial, and industrial, life as the making of that agreement. Young’s very hostile attitude towards that Association would probably have prevented as favourable, or as prompt, an agreement.

*Finally:*—The liberal government, which obtained power through that strife, soon lost sight of the grounds on which it was won. The marked contrast between what they, as a party, so ardently advocated against Catholics, and the readiness with which they abandoned what they promised in that respect, and sought Catholic support, led to a strong revulsion of feeling amongst their supporters, many of whom thereby became convinced of the insincerity of their charges, professions, and promises, in that cam-

paign, and this, in large measure, brought about the disastrous liberal defeat in 1863. The course thus pursued afforded convincing proof that the campaign was a mere political one. When Howe was appealed to by Charles Robson and Peter Ross, who supported his campaign, to live up to his promises, he denounced them as "a pair of bigots." Dr. Saunders, 304 says:—"As soon as the liberals found themselves in the possession of the Treasury benches, they dropped the proscription cry, and began to coquet with the Catholics, having in view their reconciliation, and return to their former friends".

Further it is also in a moderate degree probable that, but for that indefensible warfare, the Johnston-Tupper Government would have survived the election of 1859, and won for its leader the Chief Justiceship. It came near gaining the victory despite the numbers its party lost through bigoted action, and fears, caused by Howe's ungenerous, and false, attacks upon Catholics.

Amongst other things it greatly impaired, and in a degree destroyed, confidence in Catholics on the part of many non-Catholics, and, with a goodly number, perhaps even their Christianity; a condition of mind very difficult to change.

The least important of the results thus enumerated afforded strong grounds for the years under review with their events, causes, and

consequences, being dealt with historically, or, at least, in the biographies of Howe. But taking them as a whole, and even leaving out the minor results, it cannot be gainsaid that any historical work which embraced that period, but ignored that struggle, its causes and effects, utterly fails to fulfill the purpose history is intended to serve.

The same observation applies with greater force to the sketches, and biographies, of Howe. That unhappy strife would not have arisen, certainly would not have reached a violent stage, but for his action. He exhibited more bitterness, displayed more energy, and activity, in its promotion for several years, than he did to any subject in his very active life, unless, it may be, his anti-Confederation contest.

It had a very serious effect upon his name and fortunes, and forced him to resign his position as Chairman of the Railway Board, which alone afforded him the means of living. Therefore any work, or sketch, of his life, or times, which fails to embody his declared principles, or set forth his labours, in that tragic struggle, gives a grotesquely incomplete picture of him, and omits much material Provincial history for which he was largely, if not wholly, responsible, and with the promotion of which he was intimately connected.

The happenings these pages are intended to disclose occurred so many years ago that

memories of them cannot be invoked, and records alone must guide. Time has cast a blur upon, and in many instances effaced, much that cannot be recalled. The prompt general response to Howe's call for united Protestant action to prevent Catholic rule, and disable Catholics from defeating governments, justifies the opinion first quoted from Dr. Saunders. Such a result is not surprising in view of the effect of the penal laws, and the literature then, and later, in somewhat general use, reflecting upon the Catholic religion, and its persecuting tendencies.

Howe, in his tirades against Catholics, kept out of sight the fact that the penal laws, which imposed inhuman, crushing, degrading, restrictions, and penalties, upon Catholics, were devised, enacted, and kept in force for a great many years in Nova Scotia, wholly by Protestants, and were only repealed little more than half a century, and, in part, less than thirty years, before. They no longer existed; but through the conditions he sought to create, he endeavoured to renew them through united Protestant action, to the extent of excluding Catholics from all power, position, and influence, in political, and government affairs, and life.


The writer sought diligently, including a visit to the Parliamentary library at Ottawa, to gain access to the Catholic publications of those

days, but without success. If any of them exist their location is unknown.

The Catholic attitude in that strife, so far as its publications went, cannot therefore be fully presented. One has to depend upon quotations from them by Howe, Young, and "The Chronicle," which were the worst they could glean.

Where there is conflict there is always difficulty, after the lapse of many years, in reaching the whole truth, which has to be gathered from antagonistic partisan speeches and writings, always differing widely in facts and otherwise, and truth, or substantial accord, is not always attainable. There happens however to be ample in Howe's speeches, and writings, and of those who spoke for him, distinctly declaring his principles and purpose, to enable an accurate judgment to be reached upon them, and to prove that he was responsible for the quarrel which arose, and his purpose in promoting it. Those, amongst the leaders, who co-operated with him were Wm. Young, Wm. Annand, Jonathan McCully, G. W. McLellan, and others in Howe's party. Adams Archibald, later Sir Adams, supported Howe, but does not appear to have defamed Catholics or their religion seriously. He, however, approved and accepted the manifesto, and declared purposes, of the Protestant Alliance and Howe's platform.

## BIOGRAPHICAL OVERSIGHT

HE two volumes entitled: — “The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe” have always been universally accepted as his own work, and not Anand’s, the reputed author. No one familiar with the two men, and their qualities, ever questioned that. He made, during the struggle, many speeches, in and out of the Assembly, and addressed many letters to the public, advocating the proscription of Catholics: his other activities in the same direction were almost unceasing, and yet no reference is made to any of them in that work which was intended to illustrate his life and labours! It left a wide and important gap untouched. The campaign is not even referred to.

In a speech at Truro in 1867 he admitted he spent months in Boston revising their publication, and thus, apart from authorship, became aware of the omissions in question.

They appeared at the end of 1858. A large part of his labours in that strife, then near its peak, was performed before then. If he felt he could with, or without, a sacrifice of truth (and the same is true of his biographers), justify or excuse, his conduct in it, or derive any credit from his part in it, he would have dealt with it. His silence, and that of his friendly biographers, supply a stronger condemnation of him than criticism, or argument, can convey. The defeat of the liberal government, on a non-con-



fidence motion, in 1857, is mentioned in the 2nd Howe volume, but what produced it is not; nevertheless he made the vote of the Catholic members one of his main reasons for proscribing Catholics, and disabling them from overturning governments—which meant that the right to rule, or even to be elected to the Assembly, was the exclusive, prescriptive, right of Protestants.

The second edition appeared in 1909. It referred to the riot and crusade, but gave no material to enable a conclusion to be reached upon their merits. Being a second edition its editor would naturally avoid adding new matter on subjects deliberately omitted from the first, by its deceased personal author, and would naturally confine his labours to later events in his life. If he dealt at all fully with that phase of the life of his subject it would have called for a third volume and rendered the work more expensive and less saleable.

The earliest sketch of Howe after his death, consisting of 83 pages, was written by his Pastor, Reverend George M. Grant, who knew him intimately, admired him greatly, and had full personal knowledge of his course, during the times in question. It appeared in 1875, and was republished in 1904 and 1906. It, too, was silent, and merely referred to the Foreign Legion affair, and the riot, which it says:—  
*“were each in turn the all absorbing question of*

*the day in Nova Scotia.*" If this were true, as it certainly was, and further that they became so absorbing, from Howe's actions thereon, were vigorously used by him, and assisted greatly in producing the violent storm in political, and religious, life which ensued, they were of material moment in the portrayal of his character and career, and could not fail to afford substantial "insight into his personal qualities"—the declared purpose of that writer. They were also of grave moment in our political history, and could not, in any sense, be thrust aside in any sketch of his life, or times, or of the events in which he displayed so much activity over several years.

G. E. Fenety, a life-long admirer of Howe, and for years his co-labourer, and employe, as well as an ardent liberal, published in 1896 a 278 page volume entitled, "The Life and Times of Joseph Howe," which also maintained strict silence upon the strife in question.

John B. Calkin published, what professed to be, "a work *intended to trace the history* of the more important events in the Maritime Provinces, between the demand for Responsible Government and the movement for Confederation", but made no reference to the struggle, or the many very important events which flowed from it, or preceded it, except that "the government was defeated chiefly because of a dissension between Howe and the Catholics." He



failed conspicuously "to trace the history" of this movement.

The silence of all these writers, especially Howe, strongly conveys the idea that they deemed it, and Howe's conduct, altogether indefensible.

Duncan Campbell (1873), refers briefly to it, but does not give details. He refers to Howe's letter of Dec. 27th, 1856, as the starting point of that disturbance. It cannot well be so regarded. Howe's mind was made up to that end long before. His letters following the riot, his speech at the Crampton meeting in the June previous, upon it, and other matters, were indicative of the purpose he had in view, and meantime he was biding his time to launch it definitely. He saw, before that letter appeared, that Young's government was approaching its downfall, and that the liberal party, and with it his fortunes, could be saved in the next election, only by the creation of a religious war against Catholics. That letter increased the fires of discord he had set, and paved the way to the storm he knew must follow. If he had not written it, whatever agitation then existed, whatever feelings had been provoked, would have died down without harmful results.

Referring to an article in "The Halifax Catholic," part of which he quoted in that letter, and which, after ascribing to it a wholly false meaning, he denounced in unmeasured terms;

Mr. Campbell, 395, says:—"It did not vindicate the outrage of the riot, but strongly condemned the provocation which led to it", and adds, "The remarks it contained were temperate and just." Howe made it the subject of an unfair speech in the House.

The following, from the *Colonist* of January 1st, 1857, supports the view that Howe's determination was reached long before he wrote that letter:—"All that has happened we, and others, have long since foretold, and we take no credit for any uncommon gift of foresight in having been able to do so. We had the history of all demagogues to direct us to such a conclusion."

It is difficult to deal calmly with what Honourable J. W. Longley says about the riot, and strife, either in his life of Howe, or of Sir Charles Tupper:—(1) because of some misstatements of facts of which the most ordinary industry would have made him cognizant, and his ignoring others; (2) some unsupported, and unfounded, opinions; (3) because history should be a reliable statement of facts, and not merely the ill-considered, or ill-founded, opinions of the narrator; (4) because he is silent upon the deception practised upon those sent here by Howe, ostensibly to work on the railway, but in reality sought to be enlisted in the Foreign Legion. This was a material element to be regarded in respect to Howe's, and Condon's,

subsequent actions, and their personal quarrel; (5) because of the glaringly erroneous statement that Condon's telegram forced Howe to leave New York immediately—thereby implying that it ended his recruiting work abruptly. If it had that effect it afforded Howe good reason for being angry. As a matter of fact it had nothing to do with Howe's departure. He departed because the United States government closed his enlisting offices there on the 23rd of March, arrested one of his agents, issued process for his arrest, forcing him to leave New York at once, clandestinely, to avoid arrest, which he did by escaping through a rear window of his Hotel. All recruiting labours ceased when the offices were closed on the 23rd of March, while Condon's telegram was not sent until the 7th of April; (6) because his statement that there were upon the statute book of the United States stringent acts against foreign enlistment in that country, is incorrect. If it were true Howe committed a grave offence. The prosecutions were founded upon International law, and not upon Statute, and the discussions which sprang from them were confined to the former; (7) because while aptly describing the riot as of savage nature, he suppressed its cause, and untruly said it was because the owner of the shanty reflected upon some tenet of Catholic faith. The owner has never been shown to have had any part in what

provoked the riot. The attack was upon those in his house who had; (8) because of his statement (for which there is no proof) that other riots (meaning religious ones) occurred on the railway that year. There were fights and squabbles, no doubt, between individuals, and other disturbances, the product of liquor, bad temper, clannish, or other, rivalry, but the Gourlay one was the only one which sprang from religious disputes. It is true Howe in one letter referred to a riot at Elmsdale; evidently due to liquor. No one pretended it arose otherwise. Howe's object in referring to it was to show how bad the Irish were. (9) because Longley says "A number of Irish Catholics in 1856, pulled down a house *because the inmate was a Protestant*. There was but one shanty riot. Gourlay's house was injured, but not pulled down, nor was any other, and no house, or person, was assailed, or injured, merely because an inmate was a Protestant.

He offers no proof of his statement, that the effect of Howe's speech at the Crampton meeting was a violent outburst of feeling on the part of the Irish Catholic population, voiced through their organ "The Halifax Catholic"—or that it was their organ. The writer's diligent labours failed to gain access to a copy of it or of "The Cross," and he is convinced that Longley never saw either, and therefore his opinion must have been founded on what Howe, and

the press supporting him, said—neither of them trustworthy sources. If what Longley says on this point were true, it is strange Howe did not make more quotations from it. None of those he made, taken fairly, justified his criticisms, except in reference to the Crimean War and attacks upon individual clergymen. One of them was the paragraph justified by Campbell; and J. W. Johnston, and John Tobin said in the House, it was not in effect extreme. “The Chronicle,” after publishing Howe’s letter, was written to by Messrs. Compton of the “Halifax Catholic,” to publish the editorial he had so fiercely denounced. Their letter of January 1st, 1857, said:—“Mr. Howe declared it should be read in every section of the Province. We fully concur. We ask this with the more confidence because we feel he has entirely misrepresented our meaning, and imputed to us sentiments which, as Catholics and Nova Scotians, we abhor. Instead of approving, we have in that article denounced and condemned the railway rioters, and counselled forbearance, peace, and charity, and suggested reflections which we hoped would induce them to follow our advice. As an act of justice, we desire you should publish the article, that your readers who have been favoured with Howe’s comments, may be able to form an impartial opinion on the merits.”

“The Chronicle” refused their request on the

weak ground that papers did not publish their neighbours editorials. If the article was in any sense evil, or at all like Howe's description, its republication would justify him, and help his cause. Its publication in "The Chronicle" would reach those whom he sought to influence.

Longley also says it was asserted on fairly good authority that meetings (of Irish Catholics) were held (in Halifax) in which Great Britain and her conduct in the Crimean War were denounced, and that *a league was formed* to give effect to these views.

So grave a charge (implied treason), should not have been made in a public history, against so large a body of citizens, without giving authority for it. A fair-minded historian, having a proper conception of the correct office of history, would not have failed in that respect. Referring to the very offensive, and at times unfair, letters of anonymous writers in Catholic publications, of which Howe and his helpers loudly complained, and treated as if they were the authorized exponents of Catholic attitude and policy, it is reasonable to say, that no fair-minded person could regard them in the latter light. The writers may well have been insignificant members of the Catholic body, and in no sense representative of it, or authorized to speak for it. Howe had abuse at hand for them, but not a word of reproof for those assisting him, who were, to say the least, as great offenders.



Even the owners, or managers, of those publications, could not properly, in a moral sense, be held responsible for opinions of their correspondents in the absence of proof that they approved of them. "The Cross" seems to have been a serious offender, after Howe launched his denunciations.

At page 162, life of Howe, Longley refers to a letter from Howe in the *Chronicle* which, amongst other things, said:—"He never would cease his activities until it was understood who was to rule in Nova Scotia, the loyal English population, or a band of disloyal Irish Catholics, who undertook to mob people for the expression of their religious convictions." Now the riot did not arise from the expression by Protestants of "their" religious convictions; but from the very insulting, and worse, remarks to their Catholic fellow labourers, upon *their* religious convictions. It is not a religious principle, nor a conviction, of Protestants, that it is, in any view, proper, or Christian-like, to use language towards neighbors, touching such neighbour's religious belief, which they know is liable to wound deeply, and may produce violence in return.

The writer saw no proof, quoted, or original, that Catholics in, or prior to, that strife, or later, sought to limit the expression by Protestants of their religious convictions. True many expressions were used in meeting Howe's attacks,



by those of that faith, which were neither kindly nor accurate. They would have been something more than human, if it were otherwise.

The same historical writer, without offering proof, accused Tupper of persistent efforts to widen the gap between Protestants and Catholics, but an answer is afforded by "The Chronicle" in its report of a speech in the House when Dr. Tupper said:—"I have no wish to mingle in what I regard as a personal quarrel between an individual and his former friends, yet we cannot disguise the fact that a question has been raised, in recent exciting newspaper discussions, involving principles of civil, and religious, liberty." If Dr. Tupper, as Longley says, "relentlessly and persistently" sought to widen that gap, it must have been open to the world—and therefore easy of proof, and entitled to a place in his biography. In his long political life he never had a quarrel with any religious body, or was open to the charge of taking part in one. The late, lamented, Archbishop O'Brien, on Sir Charles' retirement in November, 1900, wrote him:—"You began your career as the champion of equal rights for Catholics. You persevered consistently in that cause, and you lost power because of that consistency." (Sir Charles' recollections, page 5.)

As a member of the conservative Government and party, he, of course, combatted Howe's action in the strife.

In the life of Sir Charles Tupper, Longley says,—page 21—“The open appeals to sectarian bigotry, then made, now seem almost grotesque, and the charge that the government (meaning the Johnston-Tupper one) was under the influence of Catholics, was unjust.”

In expressing that opinion the writer probably had present to his mind, the petty grounds relied upon amongst others:—(1) Dr. Hannan's admission to Government House on New Year's Day by private *entree*. (During the absence of the Archbishop he administered the affairs of the Diocese, and was entitled to the same rights as the Archbishop). (2) That Premier Johnston and his sons called on the Archbishop on New Year's Day: (3) That the flag on Government House was lowered to half mast on the death of Archbishop Walsh; (4) That Premier Johnston, and Dr. Tupper, attended an examination of students at St. Mary's College; (5) had an interview with the Archbishop; that the Government goes to kiss the Archbishop's feet: (6) had dined with him; (7). That Priests received their commissions from Rome; and (8) that Catholics were mere serfs of the Pope. Finally the Chronicle editorially complained that the Garrison Chapel was opened for Priests to say Mass for the British soldiers who were Catholics; a wholly Imperial matter.

The flag incident was described by “The

Chronicle" as:—"a degrading spectacle, and by it the Premier had disgraced the Government, the Governor, the flag of his country, and his *country's religion*."

At the Truro meeting in the spring of 1867, Howe said:—"McCully raised the flag cry. I was in the States at the time, and on my return found it was used as a party cry, *and as such I employed it*"!

The facts about the flag are that it was lowered by a Government House employe, who saw many other flags at half mast, which induced him to follow the example. When the Governor discovered it he ordered it to be raised.

A notice appeared on the doors of Government public offices that they would be closed during the funeral. It happened thus. Some of the officials told Mr. Johnston, the Government leader, the evening before, they desired to attend the funeral. He gave them leave, and notices were put on the doors that they would be closed during the funeral. Early the next morning Mr. Johnston had them removed.

The foregoing points, and similar ones, were used through correspondence, editorials, and speeches, to show the dangers confronting this "Protestant Country" from Catholics. Another potent cry, was an alleged Catholic demand for religious instruction in schools, or separate schools. This demand does not appear to have been made otherwise, if at all, than

when a bill was introduced to amend the general education law.

Dr. Saunders in the "Three Premiers," of whom Howe was one, is the only writer who devotes attention of moment to details of that contest, and Howe's part in it, but he omits many material facts. Full details, with Howe's speeches and correspondence, even liberally condensed, would have added very materially to the size of his, already large, volume. He unsparingly condemns Howe's conduct.

## THE SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS AGAINST CATHOLICS MADE

THE complaints, apart from the riot, made against Catholics by Howe, and his assistants, in justification of their attitude, were:—

(1) That they used undue pressure upon the government to promote Catholic interests, abused their power, and combined with the view of dominating and persecuting Protestants.

(2) That they defeated the liberal government in 1857 and therefore should be deprived of such power, and:—

(3) That they were disloyal, sympathized with Russia in the Crimean War, and opposed Howe's recruiting labours in 1855.

The first, and second, complaints will be dealt with in due order. As to the last one, the alleged offenders at the most, even taking Howe's views, were some Irishmen, presumably Catholics, in Halifax. They were well known. There does not appear to have been any attempt at concealment by them,—and there is little else than Condon's telegrams, what may have been said at the Crampton meeting, and discreditable expressions, many of them apparently anonymous, in "The Catholic," and worse ones in "The Cross." Yet Howe repeatedly stigmatized the Irish Catholics generally as disloyal, and, at a fairly early stage, attacked all Catholics although he knew, and at one time admitted, that the Scotch and French Catholics, who

formed far the largest proportion, were not open to any such charge; nor were the great majority of Irish Catholics. His desire was to punish all.

So much was said, and in such varied terms, over about four very busy years, in advocacy of these complaints, that it is difficult to deal with them by concise, specific answers. The history of the actions, and the events, of those days, requires to be dealt with more generally.

#### CATHOLIC ABUSE OF POWER

Great stress was laid by those supporting the strife on the charge of abuse of power. But Catholics, in and out of the Legislature, were never in a position to exercise power of much, if any, moment. The Government until its defeat in 1857, was independent of their support at all times, in the House. Besides when frequently challenged for instances of such abuse those who asserted its use made no reply. A party accused of crime is given specific notice of its nature. But Catholics had no such right! The only instance, when Catholic power proved in any degree effective, or was unitedly employed, against the Government, was when Catholic members assisted in its defeat in 1857. The charge of its abuse was made long before then. But even then it was not an abuse of power. It was exercised in favour of their civil and religious liberties, which were boldly threatened by the proclaimed pro-



scriptive intentions of Howe and the party he led. They were to be denied them because they were Catholics. Their votes were therefore in resistance and just defence. Months before that, they were driven out of that party by threats and serious accusations which the Government had sanctioned. No one possessing a sense of justice, and knowledge of the situation, will contradict the foregoing.

W. A. Henry, a Protestant, afterwards Mr. Justice Henry of the Supreme Court of Canada, who had been for years a member of Liberal Cabinets, and held departmental offices in them, denied in the Assembly, in very emphatic language, that Catholics had used undue pressure on the Government, and pointedly challenged the Government to meet his denial. Other members did likewise; all without result.

McKeagney, in defending the Catholic members vote, truthfully, and forcibly, said:—"Mr. Howe wrote certain letters; the contents are "well known. The Catholics put a fair construction on them, and conceiving they could "no longer place confidence in men who ridiculed, "and reviled, their religion, they allied themselves with those in whose honour and integrity they confidently rely."

He also denied he sought the Speakership on the ground that he was a Catholic, but put himself in nomination, and asked his friends to support his claim. Both Henry and John



Tobin supported his contention. But if he had rested it on the score of his religion, it was not in any sense wrongful, or an abuse of power. The use made of his alleged contention shows the low estimate liberals had of Catholic claims. The claim to an office by one of that faith was in their eyes "an abuse of power," calling for resentment, and deprivation of political rights at their hands!

Besides Catholics fairly enough regarded Condon's dismissal, after great delay, as proof of Howe's dictation and that the government was under his thumb, and in sympathy with his anti-Catholic policy which would be the policy of any government he would lead.

Young in the 1857 debate said Condon was dismissed "first of all for sending the telegrams," but, if they affected any one it was Howe alone. They were sent in April, 1855, and became public soon after. But he was not dismissed until February 1857, when Howe's pressure prevailed.

The question of domination, and intended persecution, will be discussed more at length later. Meantime to show its absurdity it need only be said that such a condition could not be reached. One-third of the population, possessing as it did power small in comparison with its numbers, could not carry out such a task in a country in which responsible government existed, and which was, as was often truly asserted, a Protestant country. This is true

even if Catholics held the balance of power between the parties. They might in such case defeat a government, but could not enforce hostile action towards those not of their faith, who would unite to resist wrong and oppression. A combination of Catholics for such a purpose would be suicidal, and nothing was shown that it was even thought of by them.

Dr. Saunders says that, prior to 1857, the Conservatives always received the majority of Protestant votes. If true, the Catholic vote always turned the scale in favour of the liberal party. In the election of 1851, six Catholics were elected, three from counties, and three from townships; in 1855 there were three from counties and four from townships, out of an Assembly of fifty-five—the addition was wrought by Uniacke's retirement from a Catholic township. In 1859 six Catholics were again elected, while Protestants were elected for three Catholic constituencies, namely, Blanchard for Inverness, Henry for Antigonish, and Wade for Digby. Young had been chosen for Inverness from 1837 to 1859; twice by acclamation. He retired voluntarily in 1859. Such was the strength of Catholic representation.

A Catholic had never been elected for a one member Protestant constituency,—none could be. Cumberland in the recent election (1925) was, it is believed, the first to depart from that unbroken tradition.

The foregoing is given to show the Catholic body's power in the Assembly was, and must remain, very limited, and that a Cabinet composed of a Catholic majority could not be sustained, indeed could not be formed, in Nova Scotia. Catholic domination was therefore impossible. Howe knew it, yet made it his chief cry to stimulate unthinking, and bigoted people into hostility to Catholics, in order to secure a much larger Protestant vote for his party.

In a speech in the House on some despatches, he said:—"I do not think it wise for the Catholics to play the Honourable gentleman's game, (meaning the Conservative leader), to bind themselves in a religious league, and keep up a continual war with the Protestant population. If I wished to keep power forever I would desire that they should do nothing else, for being a minority they must always be beaten." The last sentence was entirely correct in fact, and, being so, there was no need to organize Protestants to resist any action Catholics might take.

This was spoken after the defeat of the Liberal Government. It is in the collection in the Legislative Library, but is without date. His knowledge that Catholic domination was impossible, affords a severer condemnation of his behaviour, than words can convey.

The only ground, if it can be called one, for

the accusation in view, was inferences drawn by Howe, and adopted by his fellow conspirators, from the riot, and the conduct of the few Catholics who, organized, and took part in it. They were rough, illiterate men, who were influenced by anger. Some, perhaps most, of them, were recent arrivals in Nova Scotia, and had few acquaintances. They could not, in any possible view, be representative of any class except themselves. Less than twenty-four hours elapsed between the affront and the riot, and having regard to the location, and the slowness of communication in those days, it is impossible that any communications, to and fro, were held with any person, or place, at all distant, not even with Halifax.<sup>(3)</sup> There was no telegraph line upon the railway for years after it was opened. There was, therefore, no opportunity to gain the advice or approval of any outside of their own class on the work near by; yet, Howe declared "it was deliberately planned and was a Catholic foray, prompted by an infernal spirit of religious intolerance and persecution," and thus sought to create the opinion that it was the act of Catholics in general.

The attempt to fasten such a design upon the Catholic body on such a ground, proves the weakness, and wickedness, of his case. At one moment he said his policy was to restrict the power of Catholics, and disable them from overturning governments; at another he declared

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(3) The shanty was about 25 miles from Halifax.

he had no intention of proscribing them. But to the extent he restricted their political powers, he proscribed them. Catholics had the same right to defeat governments, they deemed unjust, or incapable, as any other denomination, but Howe and his party denied that right.

William Young, in a speech reported in "The Chronicle," February 1860, when he was again Premier, said:—"We say now, *as we have always said*, that the civil, and religious, liberties of the Catholic body, and their just share of the public revenues, their road and school money, will remain intact; but we do not engage and *will not consent*, to admit them to a participation in political power, which they cannot employ as independent, and free agents, which, as we thought, they abused when they had the power." So then, "it was always" the policy of his party to deny Catholics participation in political power! The conditions in regard to them went pretty far towards proving that policy had been adhered to; and therefore Catholic pressure, if any, to secure ordinary justice was completely justified. His offensiveness about free agency is passed by as unworthy of notice. It can be forcibly asked what body was to preserve such civil and religious rights, liberties and revenues, and disburse them to Catholics? Howe, McCully, Young, Archibald, Annand, and others of the same opinion! Could any of them, in the light of their avowed principles, be depended

upon to do so justly and fairly? How could Catholics receive their fair share of the revenues, they helped to produce, while denied positions to be paid for out of them? Participation in affairs of government, through the Executive, was a civil right, but they were to be denied it because of their religious belief.

In 1858 Young moved a resolution of censure upon the Government, condemning the appointment of Catholics to some unimportant offices as "tyrannical and unjust." He then sought to enforce his "always policy." On another occasion he accused Catholics of having violated every rule of political morality, and honorable obligation, but gave no ground other than they had deserted his party. When they aided in defeating his government in 1857, they were assisted by members of other faiths. Why were those bodies not put under the same ban as Catholics? The answer is so obvious it need not be given.

If by the term "abuse of power," Howe and Young meant the vote of the Catholic members in February, 1857, they were worse than unjust. They knew Catholics could not support a party, or government, which denied their ordinary civil rights, and grossly slandered their faith. If they meant that the members, and Catholics generally, sought before then by pressure, to secure office, or to promote a policy in Catholic interests, the records con-



clusively prove it was not in the least successful. Such a move would necessarily become public.

It never did, and was thus discredited. Prior to Howe's campaign such a complaint was never openly made by the Liberal party or its leaders. Catholics were in harmony with the Liberal party, with very few exceptions at most, until Howe's antagonism forced them out of it. Catholic pressure (assuming its existence) may have sprung, justly enough, from a desire to remedy an actual, or supposed, Liberal injustice in the disposition of patronage towards them.

The records very convincingly show that the Conservative party, and the Coalition Government, when in power were not any more liberal or just,—apparently less so, than their opponents. Mere politicians might seek to justify that on the ground that Catholics, as the fact was, were ardently hostile towards the Conservatives.

It may be that the prejudices referred to by Dr. Saunders tended to produce an aggressive spirit in Catholics, which led to over-insistence upon their rights. Men are apt to use over much pressure when contending against what they deem unfairness, or resistance, to their just claims. It may well be the charge of undue pressure, if true, arose wholly from their insistence upon fair play, which they thought had not been accorded them.



A generation had scarcely passed away since Catholics acquired full individual political rights, and this may have led them to be too clamorous for political offices. There is nothing, beyond bare assertion, to prove they were, and much to disprove it. Howe had no valid excuse to offer for his outbreak. It was one that was difficult to meet. It is often difficult to prove a negative; and the more so when the nature, and extent, of the matter of the affirmative, are not known. Until about the middle twenties, over seventy years after our first government, Catholics had no representative of their faith in the House to make known their wishes; and thence, and until the conflict arose, there was never more than a very small number of Catholics in it and never more than two in the Executive; for a long time not one. And until some time in the late forties, there was no Catholic publication. There was but one Catholic in the House about the middle twenties when Haliburton was there; a struggle had to be made to gain his admission, because of an offensive oath required of him, and not one in the Executive when Haliburton went on the Bench in 1841. Howe complained in 1834 that Catholics, and dissenters, were not fairly represented in official positions. In the course of the Crusade, in an attempt to show fair treatment, he said:—"Priests were on school boards, and laymen were Justices of the Peace,

and clerks were in public offices," and Young, in aid of that, said "there were Catholic Postmasters." A beggarly show for their numbers and political fidelity!

In the 1857 debate M. I. Wilkins said:—"that all the salaries of Catholics in the Province did not amount to one-third of the sum drawn yearly by our great liberal officials;" evidently meaning the higher paid officials immediately connected with the government.

It may not be amiss to state there never was a Catholic Judge of our Supreme Court until 1873, when Mr. Justice Hugh McDonald became one; nor an Attorney General until 1878, nor a Premier until 1882 and none since. A Catholic has never held the office of Provincial, or Financial, Secretary, or Provincial Treasurer, and never, until recently, filled the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, or of Public Works and Mines, and only filled the office of Speaker twice up to the present, 1927.

At the time of Howe's outbreak out of eighteen Sheriffs only one was a Catholic, and the same was true of a like number of Judges and Registrars of Probate, Prothonotaries, and Registrars of Deeds.

The public records of 1855 of the following counties, each of which, except Halifax, had a majority of Catholics, furnish conclusive proof of the foregoing statements as to the treatment of Catholics in the matter of official positions.

In *Sydney County*, now Antigonish, the offices of Sheriff, Deputy Postmaster, Prothonotary, Custos, Judge of Probate, Clerk of the Peace, and Registrar of Deeds, were filled by Protestants. The Registrar of Probate, Mr. Brennan, was a Catholic.

The only Postmaster in the Province then was the Postmaster General in Halifax—all others were Deputies.

*Inverness County*: The Sheriff, Postmaster, Prothonotary, Judge of Probate, Registrar of Probate, Registrar of Deeds, Clerk of the Peace, Custos, the Customs officer, and the Chairman of the School Board, were all Protestants.

*Richmond County*: The Sheriff, the Prothonotary, Registrar of Probate and the custos were Catholics. The Judge of Probate, Clerk of the Peace, and Registrar of Deeds, were Protestants.

*Cape Breton County*: The Sheriff, Prothonotary, Custos, Clerk of the Peace, Registrar of Deeds, and the Customs officers were Protestants while Catholics held the offices of Judge and Registrar of Probate, only.

*Digby County*: All the County Officers were filled by Protestants.

*Halifax County* then contained about 13,000 Catholics but none of that body held any of the above offices.

In Counties where the majority was Pro-

testant it can be said with confidence that a Catholic did not hold any office.

These facts are not given by way of complaint, but to emphasize a feature of Catholic life, and to meet the alleged abuse of power. If they had held, or controlled, or abused, power, there would have been a fairer distribution of offices amongst them. While forming one-third of the population, they held, at most, but one-eighteenth of the minor official positions, and none of the higher ones.

Dr. Allison, 734-5, referring to the unflinching support Catholics had always accorded the liberal party, said:—"And what was granted for it? A couple of seats in the Cabinet, and during the period of Howe's supremacy from 1847 to 1855, but a single occupant of a salaried ministerial office, and that a Legislative Councillor in a minor position." His salary was \$400 and he was Wm. Young's father-in-law.

The facts presented show that Catholics were devoid of political strength, or did not press their claims, or they were almost wholly disregarded.

Wm. Annand, Financial Secretary in Young's government of 1860, said in the House about the same time Young's political pronouncement, last quoted, was made:—"It is clear that a Roman Catholic cannot be allowed to hold a seat in the government," and about the same time said:—"To the victors belong the

spoils," which, in the circumstances, meant it was a Protestant fight, they were victors; and Catholics would not be considered politically. These were the crowings over their victory. John Locke, Liberal member for Shelburne, declared for the same principle.

Soon after the election of 1859, "The Chronicle," Howe's mouthpiece, said:—"We now make bold to tell this fragmentary Cabinet, and those whom they represent, that no government can be formed in Nova Scotia, at the present time *with Catholics in it*, that would not go down in a single night's debate."

The mere presence of Catholics, without regard to good qualities, or patriotism, would ensure defeat of a government! Several things are thus proved:—(1) The complete success of Howe's project to dominate Catholics; (2) the bigoted quality of those elected through its operation; (3) that domination and persecution by Catholics was wholly impossible; and (4) that there were enough Protestants, so animated towards Catholics, as to make possible a government which would deprive them of civil and religious liberties. Howe often asserted this was a Protestant country, that Catholics were in a minority everywhere, with the exception of two or three counties, and elsewhere they could be trampled down in a day. How then could they hope to dominate or persecute? He used that cry as "a scare-crow" argument,

to frighten those who were ignorant, or bigoted, and drive them into the liberal party. Nothing could be more conclusive to prove the insincerity and the wickedness, of his course.

In February, 1856, James McKeagney, a Catholic, and a liberal member for Sydney township, complained in the House about the road money distribution being left in the hands of the defeated member. His next speech was in the same month in which he "expressed disapproval of the principles of government avowed by the present administration." He complained of the treatment accorded to L. O'Connor Doyle by the liberals, and added, "I look upon it that the Liberal party have proved false to their own avowals, and lost sight of the principles of justice, and fair dealing, which in their hour of need, they promise faithfully to observe. They have now become blinded with power, and imagine they can, with impunity, indulge in individual preference, and sectarian distinctions. Let them take care how they treat their fellow labourers in the domain of Responsible Government. At present I will repeat that the liberal party have allowed themselves to be swayed by a spirit of gross partiality, and have failed to recognize the claims of their own supporters."

He was at the time a Judge of Probate, and Wm. Annand had referred to refractory officers of the government, and said some Judges of



Probate, etc., were such. His grievance apparently was mainly a personal one. It appears he sought the Speakership and this was brought forward as evidence of more pressure. He denied the charge in the form it was made by Young, and said Young told him that his religion was a bar to his obtaining it.

On March 6, 1856, amongst other things he said:—(after referring to his support of the liberal party and government) he found that the practice which he supported, of impartial treatment of all creeds, colours, and nationalities, was not fairly administered, and added:—“What do we find? Why Sir, that the Catholics, now being nearly one-third of the population, have been shamefully insulted, and deprived of their fair share of the honorable distinctions, to which they had undoubted claims, for their political services to the liberal party. He referred to the office of Financial Secretary, and named several Catholic members whom he claimed were ignored, and a younger Protestant politician selected, and added:—“Why seek in the past for facts, or illustrations, to prove the political injustice under which we suffer? Has it not been proclaimed to us, a day or two since, on the floors of this House, that we are a degraded race? Have not our ears received the appalling enunciation from the lips of the Honorable member for Londonderry, “that the liberal party would never con-



sent to place a Roman Catholic at the Head of the House?" "

He concluded thus:—"Is it alone reserved for the 70,000 Catholics in Nova Scotia to be proscribed, not by our constitution, but by the bigoted feelings, and unjust assumptions, of this *pseudo* liberal party? All I claim is impartial justice, and equal rights to all, irrespective of race, creed, or colour. I ask no State preferences, no political rewards, for my co-religionists because of their denominational opinions, but I do ask it, and claim it as a right, that when they stand first on the list, on account of political services, they shall not be kept back from offices to which they have just claims, because they are Catholics. This is all we ask."

A moderately full examination of the records failed to disclose any answer to this challenge. The member for Londonderry, later on, made what he may have thought was an explanation of what he said, but without a denial.

McKeagney was charged with voicing merely his own grievances, and hurt ambitions, and not those of his co-religionists. No matter what his motives may have been, his conduct was not wholly prudent, may have been founded on personal grievances, and may well have suggested to Howe the course he pursued. There was, however, considerable truth in what he said. He was never regarded as a Catholic

leader. John Tobin said in the House his course was an unwise one.

In the same session McKeagney read a letter from James McLeod, a member of the House, and of the Executive, and a Catholic, resigning his seat in the Executive. He was then on his death bed.

He did not assert a Catholic grievance of any kind, nor that Catholics supported him; but claimed he was ill-treated as a representative, and a member of the Executive; that two important offices were removed from Sydney to North Sydney in the district he represented, without notice to him, and without his consent; that petitions for their restoration were sent to the government, supported by him and his colleague, and received no reply, until, at a later date when he wrote the Attorney General, and was informed that the change was made upon the advice of two members of the government, who said it was right. In the autumn of 1855 he wrote a member of the government to the effect that he thought he had claims upon the party which entitled him to the office of Financial Secretary, and received a favorable reply. The office of Collector of Customs at Langan became vacant in 1855, and he and his colleague recommended a party to fill it, and received no reply. Towards the end of 1855, he wrote the Attorney General his views about the Financial Secretary ship, and never received

a reply. Before the House met in 1856 he attended a meeting of the Cabinet, and it was then agreed the filling of the Executive seats should be left to the party. He understood that the selection of the Financial Secretary was to be decided in the same way. He was not consulted about the appointment that was made, nor did any of his colleagues suggest Chipman's appointment. The party met but nothing was said or done about that office, and he was deprived of the opportunity of submitting the names of two others for it. He was told at an early stage that being a member of the Bar he could not under the circumstances receive it. After that he does not appear to have urged his claims. He also complained that in the previous summer an appointment of greater importance was made without his knowledge or consent. Attorney General Young appears to have said at one time that McLeod's capacity was not equal to the office. As a member of the Bar it is fair to assume he was as well fitted for it, as the country merchant, or farmer, who received it.

If his statements were correct he had very strong grounds of complaint, and so had his colleague McKeagney. His assertion of ill-treatment as a member was well founded, and was of a character (apart from appointment to office) which no representative of spirit could submit to. His letter was not answered.

"The Chronicle" of March 12, 1857, enumerated the Catholic demands as follows:—

1. That James McLeod be made Financial Secretary.

There is no evidence of such a demand, and none was ever offered. But if true was it not a right whether well, or ill, founded, on their part? John Tobin pressed the leader of the government in the House to name the Catholics who urged McLeod's claim. The evasive answer was "the course pursued in the House," which meant nothing.

2. That one of the clerks in the House be thrust aside to make room for a mere boy, his claim being that he was a son of Honorable Michael Tobin, who also demanded a salary as President of the Council, equal to the Speaker's.

This does not call for an answer other than to say it was the act of the boy's father, who was Wm. Young's father-in-law.

3. That James McKeagney demanded the Speakership, and that it was well understood it was strongly urged by his co-religionists.

There is no proof of such urging. The remark of the member for Londonderry, quoted in McKeagney's speech, shows he couldn't get it, and McKeagney stated he was told by Attorney General Young he could not obtain it because he was a Catholic. John Tobin said McKeagney's claim never came before the House, but he had

appealed to some of his personal friends, and put his name before the liberal caucus. McKeagney stated his action in the same way, and Henry supported him. Howe, at one time, blamed McKeagney's speech in the House for the defeat of the government, and the warfare in question. But if what McKeagney said was well founded, or he believed it was, he was within his rights. On the other hand, if it wasn't, there was an effective answer at hand. The evidence, if any, was in the departmental offices. Moreover, taken at the worst, it did not furnish a ground for ostracising Catholics generally, and invoking combined Protestant power to suppress them.

At other times, Howe alleged the blame rested upon the whole Catholic body, while Young rightly placed it on Howe's letters. Still further, an article in "The Chronicle" of May 19, 1857, referring to Young said:—"We are not blind to his faults, and we *attribute to them the loss of his government*, and the position he now occupies." No such statement would be made by the Liberal Government organ without Howe's approval. According to it Young's blunders defeated the government, and not Catholic pressure. Howe on one occasion said publicly that he could have overturned Young's government in 1856. It proves the opinion, elsewhere in these pages, that he realised its

weakened position, and the necessity for a change of programme.

The further ground that Catholics made a demand for separate schools was stated by "The Chronicle".

If true it cannot be said there was anything wrong, or immoral, in that demand. If Catholics believed, as they have ever since denominational sects came into the world, in the imperative need for them in the interests of morality and religion, they were entirely within their rights, and in the exercise of a bounden duty in seeking them.

The foregoing constitutes what was specifically relied upon to prove abuse of power, and Catholic aggressiveness. These were not the cause, but were made, and without any reason, the excuse for the attacks upon them.

Some clamour was raised about Priests taking part in the election of the new Department officials in 1857. Why shouldn't they? The interests at stake were of grave moment to their people. Ministers were at least equally active. But that in the agitator's view was all right, while the other was wholly wrong.

Howe often referred to Priests leading their people to the Polls and dabbling in politics. If at any time before then Priests did so, it was done in liberal interests, and was never complained of, and this probably because it was never done. In the election of 1859 clergymen



of all denominations were active workers in support of their views. Those who were Catholics could urge in justification, self defence of their dearest civil rights.

Having thus far dealt with the general conditions affecting Catholics, their position, and their relations, remote, and recent, towards the political parties, the task must be undertaken of detailing how, why, by what agency, and for what purpose, the strife was created and its progress over several busy years.



## HOW THE STRIFE AROSE

**A**BOUT March 1855 Howe was sent, under the provisions of an Imperial statute, by our Governor, to the United States to secure the enlistment of British subjects and foreigners, not Americans, to form a Foreign Legion Corps for service in the Crimean War, and opened enlisting offices in New York. The enlistment sought created opposition there. The friendly relations, between Russia and that country, and hatred of England, so common then, caused it. It led to the dismissal of the British Consul at New York, and the British Minister at Washington, because of their alleged activities in support of it. Howe was improperly accused by some Catholics here, not in sympathy with that war, of voluntarily undertaking that mission; that wrong added to his temper in what followed.

### THE IMPORTED LABOURERS.

Some sixty men, through his labours, were shipped by vessel to Windsor, and thence to Halifax, and placed in military custody for enlistment. They refused, alleging they were hired to work on the railway, and were released. They were entered on the manifest of the vessel that brought them as:—"Navvies to work on the Government railway." The reputable firm of ship-brokers who made the charter, wrote the Provincial Secretary, "We have at the request of Hon. Joseph Howe engaged the Brig

George Washington to carry a load of labourers for your railway, etc.”

The facts before the public then were:—The manifest and letter, upheld the men’s contention, and showed the charter was made at Howe’s request. The brokers could only learn the intended use of the men from, or through, Howe. The attempt to enlist them was reasonably regarded, in the light of the known facts, as a serious breach of faith, and their forlorn condition increased the aggravation. The circumstances called loudly for an explanation. None was given then. “The Chronicle” of April 14th, said:—“We have taken pains to enquire into the circumstances *in the proper quarter*, and ascertained the men were shipped at Boston, not with the view of enlistment, but with the purpose of labouring on the railway, as said by the men themselves.”

The “proper quarter” was not explained. It did not mean the men; and it is difficult to ascribe it to any body or person, other than Howe, or those acting under his direction. It proves the men had a real grievance. They were brought here under false pretences, were placed in military custody, and sought to be sent to the Crimea, to face the privations and dangers there, and on refusal, with the exception of a few who were given employment, were cast adrift, friendless and penniless, and were entitled to aid and sympathy from the charitably

disposed, and received them from the Charitable Irish Society, and private individuals.

Wm. Condon was President of that Society, and in that capacity on the 7th of April, he wired a New York, and a Boston, newspaper thus:—"Sixty Irishmen entrapped as labourers sent here for the "Foreign Legion". Publish and circulate."

In the light of what was then known here, and the men's assertions—all confirmed by what was learned later—the messages were true, and were sent in the discharge of an obvious, and imperative, duty on the part of the Society. They were intended to prevent others being brought here by similar methods, and thrown upon the charity of the Society, and the community. They were not in any sense disloyal, nor were their terms adapted to prevent enlistment, but only to prevent its being accomplished under the guise of employment on the railway. Nevertheless Howe denounced them as disloyal, and preventing enlistment. He was not referred to in them, yet they made him fiercely angry; and anger on his part meant extreme language, unwarranted conclusions, and unreasoned action. He declared *they* proved that Irish Catholics were in sympathy with Russia, and disloyal to England, and their object was to frustrate the designs of the British Government; all this without any support from their terms, and although he knew enlist-

ment was ended more than two weeks before they were sent. But he was not calm, nor just, enough, to reflect that the deception upon the men, of which there was very strong proof, might reasonably have prompted them, in the absence of the evil designs he imputed to those responsible for them. The proofs of deception were convincing; enlisting was over, and these ought to have induced silence, or moderation.

The storm thus created, subsided somewhat, but there were occasional indications of its revival in wider form.

Mr. Crampton, the dismissed Minister at Washington, called here on his way home. A public meeting was held on June 6, 1856, to adopt an address of sympathy to him. Condon, and a Mr. Cunningham (a Scotchman), Howe and others were present. The riot occurred a few days before. It gave Howe a new text, and Condon's presence may have irritated him. He referred to it, and Irishmen's part in it, and their opposition to his recruiting in accusing terms, whereupon Condon enquired whom he meant. He replied vehemently, and made grave charges against the rioters. The proceedings were not stenographically reported, and versions differed. "The Chronicle" made no report of what was said. Whether it was to shield Howe, and prevent his speech offending the Catholic supporters of his party, is not known. Condon described

it in "The Chronicle" of June 19th. Howe had already published two letters, one on the 10th and one on the 17th. Condon reviewed them. A "Chronicle" report would have preceded all these. Condon complained in his letter that Howe introduced the nature of the riot offensively, and sought to make it appear that Catholics had banded together to protect co-religionists who had committed crimes. At this point in his speech Condon enquired what he meant. John Tobin said this was Condon's only offence. Some present deemed it an attempt to prejudice the case of the accused rioters who were then under arrest. Condon said not a dozen in the city knew the circumstances of the riot until after that meeting, and that Howe called those who gave bail for the accused "abettors and approvers of riots." See also his letter of January 1, 1857, in "The Chronicle" in reply to Howe's of December 27th in which he said:—"That the riot was a disgrace, to those concerned no one denied; that the perpetrators if found should be punished all admit, but to give this riot so much prominence and make it a matter of so much discussion, has been and is a subject of regret to every good thinking man in the Province." Condon also said Howe's speech was liable to prejudice the fair trial of the accused, as some of those who heard him might be on the jury. If Condon's version was moderately correct Howe deserved a stern re-

buke. His letters in the press on the riot were on the lines attributed to his speech.

Some present regarded his language towards Irishmen, and Catholics, as irritating. His plan was matured before then. He denied having spoken as alleged, but claimed later "he had given them a sound drubbing." His correspondence soon after, indicates his already formed purpose, and, still later events confirm it, and lend support to the view that his speech was violently offensive.

"The Colonist" of June 7th, referring to his speech said:—"After Cunningham spoke he commenced one of his most cutting, merciless, attacks against the Irish, here, there, and everywhere, that it is possible for any of our readers, even those who have listened to him in his bitterest strain of invective, to imagine. He stigmatized them as the promoters of turbulence, and insubordination; charged them with every species of disloyalty, and rejoiced in the opportunity of dealing out to them the full weight of his indignation."

His well known lack of restraint, when angry, lends support to the probable accuracy of the foregoing. One could understand his wrath on Condon, and Cunningham, and those in the riot, but not his attack on the entire body.

Dr. Saunders, 157 says:—"His egotism was colossal, necessarily ingratitude was its twin



brother." If correctly reported, he showed both on that occasion.

Cunningham opposed the address on the ground that the Minister had violated the neutrality laws. There was but one dissenting voice to the address.

Whether "The Colonist's" version was correct or not it carried weight with those of Irish birth or descent, and with Catholics in general.

Dr. Saunders, 287 says:—"His writings in the press immediately after, was not so much a re-proof of Condon as it was an arraignment of the Roman Catholic Church."

William Young, a good while later, referring to what Howe said at that meeting, said:—"He used expressions more unguarded and irritating than he intended. The germ of bad feeling had been implanted in the Country, and extended to the government without any act of its own." Even Young was convinced of Howe's abuse.

Many believed him guilty of deception towards the men, and there were apparent reasons for their view,—and this naturally begot feelings which found harsh expression.

There was truth in his charge that many of Irish blood were not in sympathy with England's part in the Russian war. It aggravated their actions towards his enlisting services. The writer was old enough to remember such lack of sympathy, but not to understand its cause.

Dr. Saunders, 286 says:—"Because of the chronic troubles in Ireland the Crimean War was unpopular with Irishmen at home and in other countries. Those in New York and Halifax were no exception to the rule." Howe claimed it was because they were disloyal, and he expressed that view extremely whenever an occasion offered. But lack of sympathy did not necessarily constitute disloyalty. If a subject is persuaded his country is waging an unwise, or unjust, war, he may withhold his sympathy, and even bestow criticism. A nation's war is part of its policy, and, like any other policy, is fairly open to both by those who disapprove it; else Burke and Chatham who denounced England's war with her American Colonies, John Bright who denounced the Crimean War, and was supported by some English papers, and Lloyd George, who went still further in the South African War—and was, it has been recently said, supported by Lord Morley, and John Burns—were upon Howe's theory disloyal. But who will assert it? The writer does not defend or excuse those who lacked sympathy with England in that war. Their motives and reasons are not fully known, and they cannot be fairly judged. From the Christian standpoint, and that of those who, upon any ground, desired the Holy Places our Divine Saviour used, and traversed, in and around Jerusalem, freed from unchristian

control, it was a worthy war. Unfortunately it did not produce the desired result, though it checked Russian efforts in the opposite direction.

There were few inducements to enlist for that war. Once the conditions at the front became known, there was much to discourage it. The pay was trifling in comparison with current wages—only a shilling a day. The cold was extreme; the snow deep; the trenches, in which the men, and officers, stood, were often filled with water rapidly forming into ice; the soldiers were under canvas only, the wounded, often sheltered in the same way, at times had to have their wounds thawed before they could be dressed; sentries, and even their horses, were frozen to death while on sentry duty. Vessels with supplies were wrecked, food was very limited, and when a vessel load of boots arrived for the men, they were all for the same foot. The British lost over 20,000 men of whom only 12% fell in battle. The rest perished from cold and disease—aggravated by a rotten commissariat. Most of the foregoing is taken from “London Answers” of a not remote date.

General Sir Wm. Butler on the 1st of January, 1855, wrote:—“The finest army that ever left our shores is dying of cold and famine within five miles of a seaport, and it only a fortnight’s steaming distance from England.

The search for food has taken the foremost place."

Chinese Gordon, that unbending Christian soldier, then a young officer in that army, wrote home in his first letter from Balaklava:—"No one seems to interest himself about the siege: all appear to be engaged in foraging explorations for grub, etc." A week later he wrote:—"Lieutenant Daunt, and another officer of the 60th, were frozen to death last night, and two officers of the 93rd were smothered with charcoal." The conditions of the men were, of course, far worse than those of the officers.

There was at the time an intensely bitter feeling in Ireland towards England. The memories of the appalling tragedies of life, suffering, starvation, and death, during the famine of 1845-8, and the after-consequences, lay deep in the minds of all. They could no more forget what they saw, suffered, and lost, and how their neighbours, and relatives, likewise suffered and lost, than they could become unconscious of their own existence. Their human nature would not permit them to forget, amongst many other exceedingly impressive events, that England employed its army in Ireland to convoy grain out of it while the Irish were dying in hundreds from starvation, and that any assistance England gave was very largely ineffective, through ill-administration. Neither could they forget that nearly three quarters of a million

died from starvation, and many thousands of those who survived were physical wrecks ever after; nor that in about a decade of years over one and a half millions of Irish people migrated to America in consequence, there to nurse the memories of their wrongs and sufferings, and that another result was that tens of thousands (over 100,000 it has been said) of evictions took place for non-payment of rent which, during the famine, it was impossible to pay.

Chesterton in his work. "The Crimes of England, page 58 says: "The British Prime Minister publicly refused to stop the Famine "by the use of English ships. The British Prime Minister positively spread the Famine by "making the half starved population of Ireland "pay for the starved ones."

A result was produced which enabled the "London Times" to gloat over the view—"that in a short while an Irishman would be as rare on the banks of the Shannon as a red Indian on the banks of the Manhattan." Many of those, thus driven from their homes, became the Fenians in America, and added to the, at times, complicated relations between England and America since.

For some years after the American Civil War ended Great Britain was considerably disturbed over Fenian activity, and demonstrations, in the United States. These resulted in Fenian

invasions of Canada, which the British authorities had reason to believe had much sympathy from many leading Americans, and coupled with the Trent affair, had much influence in bringing Imperial pressure upon the Maritime Provinces to confederate. The British Government learned from them the weak, and exposed, condition of Canada, and desired to hasten union with all speed, and thus secure the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which was deemed to be of great Military Necessity.


The fact that Great Britain was so disturbed is confirmed by what Gladstone said on the Irish question, viz: "It has only been since the termination of the American War, and the appearance of Fenianism, that the mind of this Country has been turned to the consideration of Irish affairs."

Before then its mind may not have been ignorant of the condition of Irish affairs; but at any rate it was indifferent.

The foregoing is not offered as an excuse, or palliation, for any wrongful acts, happenings, or expressions, here on the part of Irishmen, or Catholics, or what actuated them thereto. They are given merely as history, and may assist those who happen to read these pages to understand the times, and conditions, in which those acts, opinions, and happenings, took place and apply them accordingly.



## WHAT CAUSED THE STRIFE

HE matters which led to the deplorable political struggle may be thus summarized:—

*First:* Howe's defeat in May 1855 by Dr. Tupper put him out of political life until September 1856, when he was elected for Windsor. He was greatly humiliated over his defeat; his haughty spirit could not endure it patiently. He realized it seriously impaired his power, position, and influence; he could not brook the thought that he, the great Tribune, the hitherto glorified Idol of the people, was thrown from his lofty pedestal by an unknown and unproved youth! These were galling reflections. They led him to determine upon regaining his lost position and power, by the shortest route, and by any means, he could employ. He was always discontented, and irritable, when out of leadership, or political power, and was often embroiled in some heated controversy or quarrel. These were forcefully enumerated by Senator McCully, who was familiar with his career, in an article in "The Colonist" of May 23rd, 1867—to which the reader is referred. He was deeply dissatisfied with his recruiting labours which he unjustly laid wholly at the door of Irishmen, and Catholics, in Halifax. He had long hoped and striven for some important Imperial appointment, and expected to secure it by his recruiting services in Imperial interests. Their failure

was a severe blow to his aspirations, and he became greatly incensed towards those he blamed for it.

*Second:*—He knew he had naught but party considerations and differences, and his personal strength, to depend upon for success. He keenly appreciated the strength Tupper's presence gave the conservatives, especially in the light of the changed policy he wrought towards Catholics and railway construction. When Tupper entered political life the conservative party was accused, and upon very strong grounds, of hostility towards them. At the first meeting of conservative members-elect, prior to the session of 1856, Tupper said:—that hostility to Catholics must cease, that the true policy was equal rights to all, and that opposition to the government railway policy must be abandoned.

These views gave Howe much food for reflection. He realized their probable effect upon his own, and his party's, prospects, backed by Tupper's energy and ability, and sought a new method of achieving their success. He knew, too, that dissatisfaction with the liberal government was growing, and that his adverse criticisms helped to produce it, and therefore that new forces and new grounds, must be brought into use, and that old liberal shibboleths would not bring victory. He was not slow in

concluding that an attack upon Catholics would best accomplish the ends he desired.

He foresaw the new conservative policy would take from him and his party all who were, or were becoming, dissatisfied with conditions under Young's Government, or who were annoyed by his recruiting labours, his language, and attitude towards Catholics in general, which gave rise to much feeling, particularly amongst Irish Catholics. These, through his use, eventually broadened into general hostility.

*Third:*—He knew that an anti-Catholic policy would forfeit general Catholic support, but he was confident it would be far more than compensated by many not of that faith, who through existing prejudices, and impelled by his course, would promptly come to his party from conservative ranks. This proved an accurate view. In October 1863 when the strife was over, he wrote a former Governor:—"At your departure the war with the Catholics was raging, but the result was doubtful. When the elections came it was discovered that more than 70,000 Protestants (meaning voters) had come and joined me (mark the word "me"), and that government was defeated."

That was the result he sought, and he gained it by presenting in letters, and speeches, a grotesque travesty of facts to excite religious animosity, hatred and distrust of Catholics, im-

peach their loyalty, misrepresent their political action, and create fear of domination at their hands.

“The Chronicle” soon after the election of 1859 also said:—“70,000 Catholics have joined Johnston, and an equal number of Protestants came to the liberals”. This of course meant voters, and was the echo of Howe’s opinion.

Its utter absurdity is shown by the fact that the Catholic population, all told, two years later was only 86,291! Their total vote, allowing for females, and males under 21, probably did not exceed 20,000; and allowance must also be made for those who abstained from voting, or were absent. The total of all other denominations was 244,576, and out of these Howe may have captured 70,000 votes.

*Fourth:*—He was aware of the prejudices against Catholics referred to by Dr. Saunders, and that very little effort on his part would expand them in favor of his project. The strong support given by them to him, and his party, made such prejudices stronger with conservatives than their liberal opponents, and rendered them easier of capture.

*Fifth:*—Religious questions in relation to politics began to come to the surface early in 1856. It showed on some occasions in the Assembly. In April Michael Tobin resigned his position as President of the Legislative Council and a member of the Executive. Two reasons

were said to have caused that step: one the increasing hostility of the government towards Catholics—the other, that he wanted an increased salary as President of the Council, and it was refused.

Howe eagerly seized upon the Gourlay Shanty riot, near the end of May, and used it, as no other could, to aggravate the growing condition of mind towards Catholics, and thus aid his purpose of creating a religious quarrel. What has been said, as to the causes which impelled him to that end, is supported by the following written eleven years later.

“The Unionist” newspaper of November 13, 1867, edited by Senator McCully, who knew Howe thoroughly, was in his confidence for more than a score of years, co-operated with him in that quarrel, and was aware of his purpose, and motives, in it, said editorially:—  
“They, the Irish Catholics, supported Howe, with that devotion, and fidelity, with which Irishmen alone are capable of. When the hat went around they eagerly rushed to put in their contributions. Fearing that he was losing power in the country, and that it was necessary to change his tactics, he insulted the Irishmen of Nova Scotia, their nationality, and religion, created a religious feud in the country, which arrayed in deadly hostility to each other Catholics, and Protestants, *but which created a new political combination that proscribed every Cath-*

*olic from holding a position in the government, while he, as the reward of his black ingratitude, received the highest office in its gift."*

This, written by McCully, is an apt, and accurate, description of Howe's purpose, and behaviour, in the period being reviewed.

The conservatives suffered a severe defeat in the general election of 1855, and returned only 15 out of 55,—yet, early in the Session of 1857, the government, led by Wm. Young, was defeated on a non-confidence motion by a majority of six and resigned. It was sometimes said this was due to Young's incapacity as a leader. But he was not wholly to blame. Howe's crusade against Catholics, coupled with a very strong belief of Young's approval of it, Howe's criticism of that Government, lack of unity in the Executive, and inefficient leadership, were the main determining factors.

The government had before then lost the confidence of a number of its non-Catholic supporters in the House. It is shown in a vote in March 1856 upon an amendment moved by Mr. Killam of Yarmouth a conservative, condemning government dismissals of officials, on the ground of their political opinions, which was defeated by only five, and they the members of the Executive.

If all the Catholic members had voted against the government on that occasion it would have been defeated.



Further "The Chronicle" as early as January 8, 1856, discussed rumours relating to the formation of a new Cabinet, which meant displacing Young from leadership, and the Attorney Generalship, and making him Speaker. This did not emanate from a Catholic source, and Catholics, or conservatives, had nothing to do with it. Howe probably had.

There were only 8 Catholics in the house in 1856, and one of them, James McLeod, was on his death-bed. It will thus be seen that other influences were at work, affecting the stability of the government, months before, and foreshadowed its fate, apart from hostile Catholic action. The Catholics, at the time of Killam's amendment, when four voted with the government, and McKinnon and McKeagney against it, had not entirely severed their allegiance with the liberals. The above shows how unjust it was for Howe to put the blame for the defeat in 1857 upon Catholics, and contend that, for that reason, they must be shorn of all power to overturn Governments. The government, it is true, would not have been defeated but for the added Catholic vote. Unfortunately for his accuracy it was his unjust attitude towards them which produced that vote.

Young after some delay openly joined Howe's crusade and supported him throughout. On February 13, 1857, referring in the House to the causes which defeated the government, he

said:—"After the termination of the rioters' trials, in December last, Howe's letters came out, and it required no great acumen, or foresight, to discover, upon their publication, the consequences which of necessity must flow from them. Letters of that kind *could not fail* to affect the position of the administration with their Catholic supporters in the House."

This put the blame of driving Catholics out of the liberal party where it rightfully belonged. It also proved they had good cause for their course, and yet Howe, and Young, sought to punish them severely for adopting it. If Young could have shown that Howe's action was not supported, or sanctioned, by the government, or himself, the result might have been otherwise. But this he could not do, and had no desire to do.

Still further, after Young's downfall, and after he resigned his position on the Railway Board, Howe said:—"As the government had been overthrown, by the commission of acts I had recommended, or by the adoption of principles, which I believed to involve the religious liberty and freedom of thought, so dear to the people of this country, I owed to them, and to you, to seal, by the sacrifice of my worldly interests, the sincerity of my political, and religious, convictions."

Throughout that struggle he insincerely de-claimed much about liberty; but the liberty

he sought was for Protestants only—not general liberty—nor for Catholics. A blatant demagogue could not display more insincerity or inconsistency! The point under discussion is further reinforced by his statement about the letters during the Legislative debate in the Session of 1859, when he said ‘he knew the risks he ran when he wrote them, and was prepared to take the consequences.’ They were aimed at Catholics and the only risks he ran was as to any action they might prompt them to take. He knew their weakness, and lack of power, and that he had little to fear from them. His statement to the liberal executive, before he published the fateful letter of December 1856, when he was warned as to its probable effect, supports the same conclusion.

He knew throughout, that Condon’s telegrams, and letters following them, did not interfere in the least with his labours in the States. The difficulties, he encountered, existed before he went there, and operated forcefully against his success. This is proved by his letter to Mr. Van Dyke, District Attorney of the United States, for part of Pennsylvania. It is not dated but was written in, or near, the autumn of 1855. See the last sentence but one. The letter is headed No. 3 in the collection of pamphlets, letters, etc., in the Legislative Library. At page 56 it said:—“To ascertain the temper, and feelings, of the foreign population (meaning

those foreign to the Americans), I was sent into the United States last spring.....Surrounded as I was by Russian spies, and police runners, by zealous district attorneys, and their unscrupulous agents, by mean wretches ready to profit by serving, or selling, those who employed them. Thousands of foreigners would have flocked to the standard of England had they been permitted peacefully to leave the country. The neutrality laws fairly administered would have interposed no obstacle. The *real obstacles* to be encountered were the Russian feelings of the country, the jealous hatred of England, the daring violations of all law, the complications created by scoundrels." These defeated his mission, yet, knowing this, and that his mission was ended through them, he, fully a year later, made Condon's telegrams and alleged Irish action here, the reasons for impeaching the loyalty, and integrity, of Catholics in general on the ground that they hindered his recruiting work!

John Tobin in the Assembly debate, a competent witness, said he had never heard one of his co-religionists, or fellow countrymen, complain of Howe's conduct in the Foreign Legion affair, and he didn't believe any of them were opposed to his mission to the United States.

Before publishing his letter of December 27, 1856, Howe submitted it to the Executive of Young's government. They entreated him

not to publish it; that it would imperil the liberal party, and do much harm. He replied that he didn't care and confirmed it by an oath. This incident was told the writer by Senator McCully, (who was present), long after the events in question. It corroborates the opinion in the quotation from "The Unionist" and supports Young's as to the effect of Howe's letters. The December letter quoted an anonymous letter in "The Halifax Catholic" which said:—"It can be truly said in this instance good has come from evil as had not Mr. Howe made this affair (the riot) a subject of notice for his speech (at the Crampton meeting) in all probability the poor men would have been confined for six months in jail previous to their trial.....Howe's conduct saved them from this ignominy, and was the means of arousing sympathy in their behalf, which secured for them eminent counsel and friends who were determined they should have a fair trial." The accused were bailed by the Chief Justice each in the sum of £25.

Howe's comment in brief was:—"The logical result of it is that every scoundrel who commits burglary, arson, or murder should be bailed, have subscriptions made, and eminent counsel employed for him." But in making that argument he ignored the fact that he, by wrongful attacks upon the accused, had endeavoured to create a feeling against them liable to seriously prejudice them upon their trial. The il-

legality and injustice of his repeated forcible attacks upon the accused, is shown by the fact that four were acquitted by a jury half of whom were Protestants. A fifth one, O'Brien, should have been. The offending paragraph did not allege a general rule, but Howe unfairly treated it so. In his many tirades, against those under arrest, he made no distinction between those possibly guilty, and those not.

He quoted this paragraph from an editorial in "*The Halifax Catholic*":—"And now that we suppose it is all over (the trials) we cannot refrain from offering a remark or two on the causes, and provocation, which led to this unhappy event. If Irishmen, and Catholics believe in the Real Presence of The Redeemer in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, they surely have a right to celebrate any feast in honour of that mystery, which their Church has established. They had a right to assist at Mass on the feast of Corpus Christi and their Protestant countrymen had no right to jeer, or taunt, them for so doing. Knowing how sensitive the Irish people are to everything which affects their religion, or the character of their clergy, Protestants of any nation, who are brought in contact with them, would show better their respect for the precepts of the Bible, if they abstained from those taunts and provocations in which they are too prone to indulge."



Howe's comment thereon was:—"So then a mob of Irishmen, armed with sticks, march simultaneously from different points of a public work, break into a Nova Scotian's house, attack and attempt to burn it, destroy its contents and leave it, as the Judge said, more like a slaughter house than the house of a christian, and the reason given is because some Protestants laughed at the Real Presence, which no Protestant believes, and which every Protestant, in every free country, has a right to laugh at if he likes, as much as every Catholic has a right to ridicule doctrines he disbelieves, or to laugh at the simple ceremonies which a Protestant deems sufficient."

"Who can doubt now *with this avowal before him*, that this diabolical outrage was deliberately planned (meaning by leaders in the Church) that it was perpetrated in the name of religion, that it was a Catholic foray in the midst of a Protestant country; that something worse than bad rum was at the bottom of it, and nothing worse, or better, than that *infernal spirit of religious intolerance and persecution*, which has borne its bitter fruits wherever it has appeared. Those ruffians thought they could trample out freedom of religion in the woods, and solitary places, of Nova Scotia. Those who aid and abet them think that by proclaiming to all the world that it is dangerous for Nova Scotians to laugh at what they do not believe, they can

silence and intimidate those whom they cannot convince.”

“Little do those rioters, or their abettors, know of the country in which they are trying these fearful experiments. The right to discuss all questions, or doctrines, involving our worldly interests, or our eternal salvation, to maintain what we believe to be true, and to laugh at what we believe to be absurd, is the common right of every Nova Scotian, and all ‘the mercurial’ people that can be mustered will never trample it out of the hearts of our homesteads. This right the peasantry of our Eastern counties enjoy when at home. They brought it with them upon the public works of our country.”

“The Editor and correspondents of ‘The Catholic’ have week after week for months scoffed at, and reviled, everything that British subjects value, everything that Protestant Nova Scotians hold dear. This paper has done its work, and done it most efficiently. They have written and acted as though Nova Scotians, who happen to be Protestants, had neither feelings, moral power, or political influence. Everything we hold sacred as freemen and believers in one Saviour, has been scoffed at, and reviled. And now we are told, forsooth, that theology must not be discussed in the back woods, that Scotch Protestants must hold their tongues about Catholic ceremonies, or there is

great danger that 'mercurial Irishmen' will gut their houses and break their heads. And when they are broken, we are further told by these lovers of fair play that Mr. Howe had better hold his tongue about the matter for fear that the sympathy of other Irishmen may be aroused, and the violators of the law rescued from the Penitentiary."

The right to discuss theology need not be questioned; but "freedom of discussion" does not confer a right to be provokingly coarse, and offensive, to your neighbour upon the most sacred principle of his religious belief. It is all the more aggravating when such a method is adopted on meeting one's neighbour, and without anything being said, or done, by him to occasion such comments. The provokers in question did not confine their action to laughter, and their observations were not in the exercise of religious freedom.

The letter quoted from by Howe did not in language, or spirit, convey the meaning he ascribed to it; while as to the editorial, no one but he, and he only while reckless, could impute to it the intent and meaning he did. All reasonable people will re-echo Mr. Campbell's view that it was temperate and just.

It is singular, if Howe believed what he said about the matter published generally in "The Catholic" editorially, or otherwise, by way of reviling, or scoffing, Protestants in general, or

their religious belief, that he didn't quote it. If what he complained of was at all as bad as he alleged it to be, he would have used it with great avidity. The treatment he gave, what he did quote, and his failure to quote what in his view was worse, illustrate his pettiness, unfairness, and insincerity. His temper, and his desire to gain power, made him oblivious of every fair, and generous, consideration.

His letter proceeded:—"No man would dare to publish such a paper in any Catholic country. The man who attempted it in Rome, Spain, etc., would soon find himself in the jail or Penitentiary. Here it is published with perfect impunity, and the difference between a Protestant, and a Catholic, country is illustrated by the very impunity it enjoys. Everything that Nova Scotians hold dear, sacred, and national, has been made the subjects of "jeers and taunts" again and again. Abuse and derision have been heaped upon the faith professed by three-fourths of our population. The oldest and most estimable of our clergymen have been railed at day by day. Luther has been pitched to Jericho, and everybody, and everything else, that stood in the way of arrogant and bigoted intolerance. All this has been done and Mr. Compton's (the proprietor's) shanty has not been disturbed, his house has not been turned into a slaughter-house. But the impunity he enjoys in the Capital Protestants are denied

here and elsewhere. Scotchmen and Nova Scotians may build bridges, quarry stones, and lay sleepers, but woe betide them if they laugh at what they do not believe, if they say a word about the Real Presence, Purgatory, or the Pope."

If his description of what appeared in that paper was fairly correct, it offended grievously against charity and otherwise, and should have been discountenanced by every right-minded person. But Howe in the mood he was then, cannot be accepted as a trustworthy commentator. It may well be too that much of the matter complained of was in answer to attacks as bad, or worse, from Howe's Allies, or by way of retaliation. There was, beyond question in the prevailing temper much to provoke such a course. It was up to that time the only occasion, so far as public records disclose, in which even a small number of Catholics offended in respect to religious matters. But Howe's language sought to fix a stigma upon them as a body of intolerance and violence. It would have been only fair if, while he complained of coarse language being applied towards Ministers he gave the other side, and told the people what Ministers, and some papers, said of the Catholic Church, its Priests, and Catholic belief and practice. One instance "The Chronicle" of January 8, 1857 may be mentioned. It then, and soon after, contained extracts from "The

Journal", "The Church Times", "The Eastern Chronicle", "The Yarmouth Times", and "The Christian Messenger,"—all provoking, and offensive, towards Catholics, both in editorials and correspondence. These were joined later on for a time by "The Wesleyan."

The letter proceeded:—"These are my opinions and I shall be much mistaken if they are not re-echoed from every village, *and if Nova Scotians everywhere do not unite* to vindicate the sincerity of their religious convictions, and to guard the most sacred of their civil rights,—the right to argue, and the right also to laugh, against all the bludgeons and brick-bats that can be mustered."

"Mercurial Irishmen," (a term he invented), would do well to remember that, outside of Halifax, *they are but a handfull in any county, east or west.* There is no part of Nova Scotia where they could not be trampled down in a day were the people to become "mercurial," and deal out the brotherly love, and mutual forbearance, which were displayed at Gourlay's Shanty. In the County of Halifax out of a population of 40,112, the Catholics of all origins number but 13,217. The right to discuss theology, and to laugh at what they cannot believe, will not be very tamely surrendered by the other 26,895, or I am much mistaken. If heads are to be broken, and houses gutted, about religion, "the mercurial" gentlemen, who pretend to be



over-sensitive, will find that lessons are soon learned."

The question naturally arises, seeing that Catholics were such an insignificant minority, what necessity was there to unite the entire Protestant body, and create in it an angry state of mind towards Catholics, for the purpose of resisting possible Catholic aggression?

It may throw light upon the situation, and Howe's purpose, and impart a true colour to the terms he employed, to observe that those who provoked the riot, did not confine themselves to laughing at what they did not believe, but used terms respecting Catholic belief which in the opinion of their Catholic hearers were blasphemous, and deeply aggravating. Discussion does not appear to have been sought. It would have been fruitless, and worse, in view of the temper aroused, and the convinced minds, and apparent purpose, of the provokers.

The right Howe claimed, if practised, would produce constant warfare, and create conditions amongst neighbours at which all Christians, and peace lovers, would shudder.

The statement about parties coming long distances is wholly unsupported by proof.

He also described the trials of the accused rioters as "a miserable farce." He was greatly annoyed there were no convictions, and that his labours towards that end failed. Attorney General Young who conducted the prosecutions,

no doubt did all that could have been done in producing evidence, and presenting the cases to the jury, and had Howe's assistance in collecting evidence. Howe complained that no Irishman had given evidence; if they didn't the fault was Young's and his. Witnesses do not volunteer to appear and testify; such a step is deemed suggestive of partiality. The defence of all was they were not present, and it can be easily understood that in the excitement which the riot created, and the numbers present, mistaken identity was liable to arise. The delay in the proceedings afforded chances of escape for those guilty.

Honourable Mr. Johnston said in the House that "James O'Brien was tried by a Jury of seven Protestants and five Catholics. They disagreed; one Protestant and five Catholics. were for his acquittal. One witness swore he had received blows from him; but there were many assertions to weaken his statement. There were four witnesses who showed he could not have been at the riot. If they were believed he should have been acquitted, or at least received the benefit of the doubt. I find no fault; they had to contend with strong excitement which the question had engendered. On the trial of another O'Brien, there was but one witness for the defence and he was acquitted, and the Attorney General admitted he should be acquitted as well as the other O'Brien whose

case was still clearer. There was not one of them, who, from the testimony on the part of the prosecution, ought not by a merciful consideration of the law, to have been acquitted." Young denied making the alleged admission. Mr. Johnston, who defended the accused, in a letter to the Chronicle of February 19th, 1857 said he regarded the results of the trials as the honest convictions of the Jurors.

As Chairman of the Railway Board it was Howe's duty to maintain peace and order amongst those working on the railway, and to prosecute the offenders. He knew what was right, but pursued what was worst. It is only the few who are able to lift themselves above themselves, and, as the poet said, "see the right thing and do it." His whole course was adapted to create more bad blood, and prejudice those under arrest upon their trial. If an ordinary person did what he did the Attorney General would, as he should on that occasion, have taken steps to stop it, but he remained passive, although he knew Howe referred to them in a public letter as *actual criminals*, and that his accusations, and opinions, upon their guilt, could not fail to create a strong feeling against them in the minds of many,—while, on the other hand, his offensive language towards Irishmen, and Catholics, was liable to produce a contrary spirit, believing, as they may have, that it was a mere political move on his part, and that he

had materially magnified the riot. His position in the country gave great weight to all he said and wrote, especially with those in sympathy with his crusade. All this created difficulties in the way of a fair trial. The minds of the Jurors, taken at large from a community so generally aroused, were not open. They could not, humanly speaking, be expected to regard the evidence calmly and fairly.

In Howe's letter, last quoted from, this will be found:—"Good, we are told by the scribblers in "The Catholic," comes out of evil. I believe it.....A sparrow does not fall to the ground unobserved by the Maker's eye. Who believes then that he did not mark the men who fell to the ground, in and around the shanty, beneath the blows of bludgeons, and were left weltering in their blood? Who believes that those who struck them down, *compurgated before earthly tribunal*, or sheltered from the laws of the Province, will be held excused in the sight of God, or that the blood, or broken constitutions, of the victims will cry to Heaven in vain. I do not. But I believe that as long as that doomed house stands every Protestant Nova Scotian who passes it will feel his pulse quicken and his heart thrill."

*"The consequences of this plain speaking I have duly weighed and measured.....I respect the feelings and admire the sincerity of the Catholics whose opinions I do not share, whose cere-*

monies I may think superfluous. But when he comes to propagate his religion by the bludgeon, when the liberty to criticise and scoff, which he claims and exercises, he attempts to deny to the Protestant population, my path is plain and I tread it regardless of consequences."

The reader can forcibly ask, in the light of the situation, who began the scoffing and criticising, and in opprobrious terms? His Protestant friends. Who continued it? Howe himself. He had no words of condemnation, rather justification, for those who provoked the evil deeds of the rioters: deeds which no Catholic worthy of the name would fail to denounce.

His next letter of January 6, 1857, dealt at great length with a paragraph quoted from "The Halifax Catholic" upon the Crimean War, which was unjust and in execrable taste, and not defensible on any ground. While it may have reflected the opinions of a number of Irish Catholics embittered on grounds referred to, it did not speak for the great majority of that body. Besides no proof was offered that that paper was, or was regarded, as the mouth-piece of any section of Catholics, unless it may be those of the special class, numerically small, just mentioned.

The letter then proceeded to say that the effect of all this was soon visible on the Western road, and mentioned a number of crimes committed by individuals, leading to an inference

that they were committed, or at any rate encouraged, by the attitude of the Catholic body, and the escape from conviction of the rioters. Amongst those enumerated was the stabbing of Murdoch McKinnon. He devoted many words to that incident. The facts however were that McKinnon and another man, an Irishman it was said, got drunk together, and a dispute arose as to who should pay for the liquor they drank. A quarrel ensued in the course of which McKinnon was stabbed. He was so drunk at the time he didn't know it. The other was arrested, and the foregoing is from the evidence on his preliminary examination, given by the only person present at the affray. Whether the accused was an Irishman, or a Catholic, was not proved, beyond the name he bore. But Howe used it to prove how depraved the Irish and Catholics were, and how they persecuted Protestants.

The next statement in the letter was a thrust at Young's Government. It said, after stating "that law and order were the first objects of all governments, and the preservation of life, and property, their most sacred obligation,—that a government that cannot, from any cause, afford this security, and will not provide a remedy, that can, and does not from any fear, favour, or affection, is a government that has already abrogated and ignored its functions." All this helped to defeat Young's Government



a few weeks later. It was apparently, intended to force that Government to break with their Catholic supporters, and help him in his crusade. It was a case of Howe, or nobody,—and he knew his strength, and that Young must join him, or suffer defeat.

On January 15, 1857 he addressed another letter to the people of Nova Scotia which commenced with a scathing review of Irishmen hostile to England, and those opposed to British success in the Crimean War, and said:—"They are and will be, henceforth, undeceived. They may band together, and scowl at those they dislike, but to all intents and purposes they are, and will be regarded as, a foreign element in the midst of a British country. Good subjects will shun them, good citizens distrust them, good politicians will watch them, etc."

If this was clearly limited to those who, in his view, offended upon the Crimean War, an excuse may be offered for him. But it bore a general colour, and was probably so regarded by many in sympathy with his movement, and by some opposed to it.

This was followed by a long quotation from Macaulay, not a very trustworthy writer, alleging the worst kinds of cruelty, and persecution, by the Church, and by Irish Catholics. He then said:—"To a good many people it appears a surprise how we got this pestilent faction in our midst." Many Irish people no doubt

understood the words "pestilent faction" to mean Irish Catholics in general, and it added to the temper already much heated. At times he used the term "foreign faction" in the same view.

A recollection of some history touching England's course, and policy, in Ireland would have accounted for the presence here of Irish Catholics, who sought refuge from unjust, and cruel, laws.

The same letter contained an indefensible paragraph about Condon's telegrams, quoted from a New York paper, including part of a letter by John Mitchell, which had no application to persons, or conditions, here, and a further quotation, from the same paper, approving what Condon was, in it, alleged to have said at the Crampton meeting. The only purpose of these was to injure Catholics generally.

The next letter, a reply to a recent one of Condon's, detailed the engagement of those sent here, from Boston, and alleged he personally had nothing to do with them. If his version is accepted he was blameless. One of the apparent purposes of the letter was to make a case against Condon, and secure his dismissal from office.

In a further letter of March 5, 1857, after referring to the atrocious crimes of the riot, committed by Irish Catholics, he said the perpetrators had escaped the punishment of their

crimes, were sheltered by a portion of their countrymen, and co-religionists, openly abetted by a Catholic Association in Halifax, and released by the refusal of Catholic Jurors to convict. But how about the Protestant Jurors who acquitted four, perhaps five, of the nine tried? This was followed by comments upon the conduct of "The Catholic," upon Condon, and Irish Catholic action, in the Crimean War. Condon's dismissal may not have been unreasonable. It may also be said his alleged misconduct, and quarrel, was not, at least at the beginning, nor for some time, if at all, with the government, but with Howe, whose special work at the time was as an Imperial officer only. If the one deserved dismissal, as a government official, for his course, equally the other, if not much more so; the other, because his conduct was sure to drive their Catholic supporters from them. Howe throughout was an officer of the Government, being Chairman of the Railway Board. If Condon was responsible for what appeared in "The Catholic" upon the Crimean War, he deserved dismissal, but that was not shown. Martin I. Wilkins' speech in the Assembly on the non-confidence debate of 1857 is worth perusal as to the relative positions of Howe, and Condon, towards the government,

Howe's letter proceeded:—"No sooner was this policy (Condon's dismissal) announced than it became apparent the Ecclesiastical

authority of the Catholic Church was to be actively employed to break down the administration."

Catholics in considerable numbers had ceased to support that government; not merely because of Condon's dismissal, but because they became convinced it was done under Howe's dictation, which showed he controlled the government, and that it was in sympathy with his crusade against Catholics; and therefore they must take measures to protect themselves against Howe, the government, and the liberal party.

A speech of Wm. Young is also quoted from. It began,—“I shall say but little of the influences which, though unseen, are, *for the first time felt*.....in the Legislature. These are influences *unknown to the Constitution*. They have been unscrupulously exercised.....What have we seen? The whole Catholic body, as one man, forsake their friends of a lifetime, and walk *en masse*, across the floor of the House and coalesce with the conservatives, their political opponents.....It is undeniable then that a mysterious, and powerful, agency has effected this change.” Why didn't he, as he had already publicly done, say it was Howe's letters which caused it? But that wouldn't help Howe's purpose which he had accepted. The admission that such influences were for the first time felt, gave the lie direct to the charges so

often repeated of Catholic pressure and aggressiveness. Even he, at a previous Session, admitted that up to the time Howe's letters appeared the Catholics had given the government no cause of dissatisfaction. This is taken from a speech of Dr. Tupper in the House to which a denial was not made. Each individual Catholic had a mind, and conscience, of his own. How could he support a government which had joined Howe's crusade to extinguish Catholic liberty and freedom of action. No other agency was needed; none was used; yet their action was declared unscrupulous and due to ecclesiastical pressure!

The next quotation in the letter is from a speech, in the House, of Wm. Chambers, who said:—"I asserted in my former speech that the combination was unnatural and unholy. There is a secret spring to which no allusion has been made. The Catholics of the Province, believing they hold the balance of power, have come to the conclusion that they can govern the country. To any man who has marked the progress of events during the past few months, the proposition must be evident that we have now to consider whether Sir Gaspard Le Merchant, or William Walsh, the Catholic Archbishop, is to be Governor of Nova Scotia." He also said:—"We have in view the establishment of a great object. We desire to prevent a foreign Potentate, the sworn enemy of the Constitution,

and of the country's flag, from governing the Province by himself or his emissaries." He also said in the House, referring to the Catholic members:—"that there was a class of men in the Assembly who were a curse to the country, and ought to be swept out of the Legislature." Those to whom he referred were Fuller, John Tobin, Peter Smyth, Henry Martell, Bourneuf, Robichau, McKinnon, and McKeagney; all men of proved, high, character, and who were sturdy liberals, up to about that time.

"The Chronicle" of February 14th, said, in reference to the speech just quoted from, 'that it was a capital one.'

It is no libel upon Chambers to say that a more ignorant member never darkened the door of the Assembly.

The letter last mentioned also said:—"Neither party can now give to Nova Scotia such a Government as she requires. The liberals, weakened by the open defection of the Catholics, cannot do it, and the conservatives, lifted to power on their shoulders, only rule by the sufferance of an Ecclesiastic, who owes no responsibility but to a foreign Potentate, unrecognised by the great body of the people of Nova Scotia. The Head of the Catholic Church in this Province *denounces Mr. Young and his Government* because they will not permit Catholics to break people's heads, publish disloyal sentiments, scoff at, and revile,



Protestant clergymen, and their doctrines, without retaliation, and to carry on correspondence in time of war with the enemies of our country.

The Catholic Bishops, so far as was discovered did not, individually, or conjointly, make any statement upon the strife or denounce Young or his government. If they did it was not of the character Howe alleged.

It proceeded:—

The only reason that anybody can give for the overthrow of the late Government...is the reason pure and simple that the Catholic Archbishop so willed it....The Cabinet are powerless to carry on any measure that the Catholic Priesthood of this city disapprove, *and as their conduct of late has favored the impression*, I assume that gutting houses, breaking heads, corresponding with England's enemies, and defeating Crown prosecutions, will not be regarded as offences against the powers that be. The experience of the past, and the aspects of public affairs at the present time, have satisfied me that so long as the Protestants of the country are divided, it must be ruled by a Catholic minority. It is clear to the eye of the most ordinary political observer that so long as Protestants are divided the Catholics must rule our country. For myself I am so weary of this domination that I felt for some time that any personal sacrifice was light in comparison

with the obligation that rested upon *me* to struggle for a more solid, and reputable, basis of government. Party considerations ought not to stand in the way of a consummation devoutly to be wished: indeed recent events have convinced me *that there is no solid basis for party in this country, but such a Protestant organisation* as will render the government independent of Roman Catholic support....Such a government can only be formed by the co-operation of Protestants all over the Province who are content to labour in this cause without reference to old party names, or to by-gone differences of opinion."

"You may remember that last winter Mr. Young brought in a Bill for the extension and improvement of education. It was met by the uncompromising hostility of the Catholic Priesthood...who were only satisfied when clauses were prepared by which separate, and exclusively Catholic schools, from which the Bible would of course be excluded, were provided by law.... No sooner were these clauses framed than it was apparent to all that the Bill was defeated; that the Protestants would never permit such a blow to be aimed at our school system. The question of education is solved, and must so remain, until re-animated by a thorough Protestant organization."

The meaning of the above is that a clause was added to the Bill, after it was introduced,

through pressure from the Catholic Priesthood. The truth is otherwise because when Young introduced the Bill he said:—"The Bill would contain a clause for separate schools. But this was necessary, due regard being had to satisfy conscientious scruples entertained by a certain section of that House, and a very large proportion of the population of the Province."

It may not have been actually submitted then. But Young later on was charged in the debate with having said "the original intention was always to have that clause in the Bill," and did not deny it. This view is supported by John Tobin's statement in the House, which remained unchallenged, that thirty-six members of the Liberal party in caucus, adopted the policy of separate schools. He was no doubt present with them.

After some discussion, apparently not reported, Young withdrew the Bill saying he could not carry it without opposition support. He had a majority of about forty. The Conservative leader said he withdrew it when its success was assured, and Tobin's statement goes far to prove it. This tends to show as was said at the same time that it was only intended to sound public opinion,—especially anti-Catholic opinion—hence its withdrawal.

The foregoing shows quite plainly that the clause, no matter when submitted, was not then added from Priestly pressure.

## THE BIRTH OF THE PROTESTANT ALLIANCE

Much more was said in that letter on the question of education, and separate schools, aimed at influencing the Protestant public mind which is passed by at this stage.

It concluded thus:—"A committee has been formed here, composed of gentlemen who are disposed to labour in this cause. A Correspondence will be opened with Protestants in all the counties, *and in the adjoining Provinces*. The committee will be at once announced, and the co-operation of Protestant clergymen, and other influential persons, will I apprehend be cheerfully rendered." It concluded with an expression of belief that God would not desert his own cause, or permit the Protestant interests, and feelings of Nova Scotia to be trampled underfoot. In his view there were no other interests or feelings to be considered, or protected; Catholics had no rights deserving protection or assistance!

On March 10, 1857, Howe addressed a letter to the electors of Cumberland County. Dr. Tupper's election, as Provincial Secretary in the new government, was then on. It concluded thus:—"He, Dr. Tupper, will tell you that Mr. Johnston was enabled to overturn the late government because eight Roman Catholics, in the most innocent and natural way, went over and joined him without any other reason than regard for the good of this country.

He will not tell you the reasons that induced them to go. These you will find in my letter addressed to the people of Nova Scotia on the 2nd of March, and to which I refer you. You will also find them explained at large in an address put forth by twenty-two Protestant gentlemen members of the House of Assembly. You will find that Dr. Tupper received the appointment which he asks you to confirm, because his leader, and himself, defended in the Courts, and in the Legislature, the destroyers of Gourlay's Shanty."

In his letter of March 5, 1857 he said:—"it was known that Scotch and French Catholics were not parties to what he called the treasonable correspondence, nor to the utterance of disloyal sentiments." It is difficult, from reading his letters and speeches, to conclude they were not included in his previous charges against Catholics generally, their Priests, and their Church.

In the same letter he claimed that Condon's dismissal was concurred in by representatives of Scotch, and French, Catholic constituencies. The fact that nearly a month before that letter was written, all the Catholic members assisted in defeating the Government, and, to some extent because of Condon's dismissal, and what it meant, throws doubts upon the alleged concurrence.

In his speech in the House on the non-con-

fidence motion of 1857, referring to the riot, he said:—"that outrage struck terror into every shanty on the railroad, and into every dwelling on the Windsor road. Every Protestant from the Eastern Counties, *every Nova Scotian*, felt that his right of industry, his life, his limbs the sanctity of his dwelling, were held on sufferance, that he worked by day, and laid down by night, at the mercy of a band of ruffians, *organized and held together by some power*, and for some purpose, which they could not comprehend!"

In support of his assertions regarding the riot he gave details of what some people said, but nothing more, and these were probably merely reechoing his own previous words. The meaning he intended should be drawn from the above quotation was that the Catholics were organised and held together by their Pastors, and thus created the dangers to Protestants, he so vividly portrayed.

Remembering his blood curdling descriptions of the riot it is strange he never referred to the old-time election riots he knew of; some of which were quite as violent, and hadn't even the excuse of bad temper. For instance one in the God-fearing town of Pictou,—the nature of which is shown by the fact that, when it was over, seventeen men in one house, near the polling booth, not to mention others, were being treated by doctors for broken heads, deep



wounds, and bruises, etc., inflicted by cudgels, which were not brought into use by Catholic bigotry, or Catholic intolerance, but were the outcome of a ferocious and intolerant political spirit, and to prevent opposing votes being recorded. It is probable there were as many victims of the opposite political party in some nearby house being treated, because, even in distress, they would not house together. The separation in time, between that affray and the riot, was not at all great, and men's methods had not meanwhile changed. A similar attack to the Pictou one, and with the same kind of weapons, and with the same object, occurred under the inspiration and guidance of Wm. Young, and his brother George, at Margaree-Cheticamp poll in 1832.

In "The Chronicle" of March 7, 1857—under the heading "To the People of Nova Scotia," in the form of an editorial, and without any signatures, appeared the declaration of twenty-two members of the Assembly. They were those who supported the Young Government on the non-confidence motion.

After referring to the Government defeat it proceeded:—"Ought a free people submit to it as a positive good or ought they rise in their might, and resist it to the death? In a word are Priests, owing their allegiance to Rome, hereafter to govern the Province, or is it to be

governed, as heretofore, by the independent judgment, and the free voice of their representatives?

“Now it is notorious that the late administration has been unseated by the secession of the Catholic members, and the aid of two Protestants representing Catholic constituencies.

“Let the people of Nova Scotia mark well the present state of affairs.” After stating the Government had not fallen from any ill administration of affairs, it was asked? “Why then has it fallen? It is notorious that those so seceding acted with the direct sanction, or at the pressing insistence, of the Roman Catholic Priesthood, and the Protestant body equally divided, the power, so wielded, can make or unmake, an administration at will. This is not liberty but a slavish dependence. It is not a representative Government deriving its energy from the people, but a dark and mysterious power, felt though unseen, and fatal to true freedom. Shall it endure in a free country? Shall the Catholic dominancy, which the new Provincial Secretary deprecated last winter, be perpetuated, and become a part of our constitution? Shall we pass under the yoke, and bend the knee to the Catholic Archbishop, now our political master and ruler? Shall the spirit that animates our affairs be derived, as hitherto, from Government House, or flow hereafter from the Glebe House? Shall

Churchmen, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans, stand as before on equal ground, or shall the union and energy, with which it is wielded, enable the Catholic power to transcend and subdue them all.

“These are the issues—grave and fatal—which are about to be put to the people to whom the New Cabinet Ministers must appeal. The new Administration cannot exist an hour without Catholic support, which cannot be purchased, or retained, without ultimately yielding, however specious the present moderation, to Catholic demands more than the late administration would grant.

“The new one must square its policy, and distribute its patronage, by the Catholic standard. The Catholic ascendancy, which ten years ago was only a bug-bear, has become a reality in our midst.

“Let every Protestant Minister, of every denomination, ask himself,—What is the duty he owes to God, and to his people, in this grave emergency? Not surely to be slothful, but to be up and doing. Let the sound thinking men of all parties ask themselves whether the new power brought to bear ostentatiously, and with fatal effect, upon the Legislature of our Country, is to be tolerated or upheld. It never can be the intention of three-fourths of the people to bend submissively to the spiritual leaders of the remaining one-fourth. *Ten years ago the*

*Catholics were systematically excluded from all offices and honours.*

“The railway riots, the sacking, the bloodshed, the terrors of the attack on Gourlay’s Shanty, and the causes of the attack, have made a deep impression on the Protestant mind, not however so deep as the open, and vehement sympathy, with the accused, and their escape, by the aid of Catholic Jurors, from the demands of Justice.

“Outrages, which stir our very blood, and make the heart palpitate, and glow, with indignation, have been perpetrated with impunity, and the delinquents have been sheltered by the same active, and insidious, power which has toppled down one administration and created another.

“A large Committee, drawn from both branches of the Legislature, animated by no narrow, or sectional, feeling, the friends of religious liberty, and abhorring the domination of any sect or creed, warmly attached to our common Protestantism, and distrusting the insidious, and rapid, advance of the Catholic power, have prepared this appeal, and recommend it to the sympathy, to the inmost convictions, and to the thoughtful care, of all denominations of Protestants.

“They have thought it indispensable at this crisis to go a step further, and have formed the nucleus of a Protestant organization, which

all parties, participating in these opinions, and *forgetting the political differences of the past*, are invited to join, and which, extending from the Capital, will penetrate to every nook and corner, where the necessity of vindicating the independence of the Legislature, and the rights of a free people, is preserved and appreciated."

Howe apparently had much to do with the preparation of the foregoing. Young too obviously had a hand in it. In reply to John Tobin in the House he said "he endorsed every word of it and so did every member of his party."

The body thus created was, about the same time, augmented by a number of Ministers and others, who associated together in its aid, and adopted the name of "The Protestant Alliance." Its aim was political, though directed in terms wholly against Catholics. Dr. Saunders at page 276 says:—"The Protestant Alliance, Howe's chief instrument in that war, was politically inspired." "The Chronicle" of February 10, 1859, in commenting upon a statement in the "Christian Messenger," that it was a political organization said:—"If we comprehend the matter at all, and we have no doubt upon the point, The Protestant Alliance is neither more nor less than what its name indicates, an alliance of Protestants without any regard to party politics, to suppress Romanism in all its phases, *religious, political and otherwise*. It knows no party feelings such as Whig, Tory,

Radical, Conservative or otherwise. It recruits its ranks, and seeks support from each and every class of Protestants. It asks but one question. Are you opposed to the ascendancy of Romanism? If so, come with us.

Solicitor General Wilkins, page 223 of the debates of 1858, said:—"Among the objects of the Alliance, it proposes among other things, (these are its words):—"To unite the Protestants of the Province in efforts to secure the recognition of the Holy Scriptures as the basis of a sound education; and in a firm and persevering demand that the Provincial support given to *Popery* of late years shall be discontinued. In this demand would be included all endowments of Popery in every form, and of every kind drawn from the public revenues, and the concession of rank and precedence to Romish ecclesiastics."

The support and endowment, which were to be discontinued under this programme, were, strange to say, largely the awards of previous Liberal government! The party had grown ashamed of their own conduct!

"The Chronicle" of March 12, 1857, quoted from "The Presbyterian Witness" an article referring to The Alliance headed:—"Highly important movement among the Clergy" to take into consideration a meeting of the Protestant Ministers, of all denominations, to decide upon the best means of dealing with Popery in all its



phases, and especially of counteracting the injurious influence of the Romish party at present, and for some time, exercised in the Province. The result was a formation of a Protestant association in the city to have affiliated branches throughout the Province. A Committee was appointed to prepare a constitution."

A fairly diligent search, aided by a very competent assistant, in the newspapers at, and soon after, the formation of the Protestant Alliance, failed to find its charter, or constitution, in concrete form. Statements were made, by some of its promoters, setting forth its purposes, in much the same terms as, but stronger than, the declaration of the members already quoted. John Tobin referred to it in the House as reciting several political objects it had in view, and stating that these expressed its object, so far as it had any political character.

Adams Archibald admitted "it was prepared before the defeat of the Government; but was withheld lest it might be supposed of being connected with politics." It cannot be doubted that was its main purpose.

The Nova Scotian of the 23rd March 1857, in a several column article (intended to pass as an editorial) unmistakeably Howe's, said:—"It is now an established fact that the Catholic Clergy have succeeded in grasping a political power, in this Province, which has virtually de-

prived all citizens belonging to other religious sects—under existing circumstances—of any independent voice in the Government and Legislature. The seizure, of that political position, has placed in the hands of the spiritual head of that sect the power to make, and unmake, a government at his pleasure; the power to dictate to the existing government what measures they may, or may not, submit to the Legislature; the power to compel them to oppose in the Legislature every measure that may clash with the designs of the Reverend Father; the power to dispense all the Government patronage; virtually the power to rule the Country by a hireling Government. Instead of the Government being, as it should be, the chosen agent of a free people it is the hireling of Archbishop Walsh—responsible to him.”

Patronage was a sore spot! The purse strings and those who profited from their pulling! The best answer, the conclusive one, is that none of the predicted evils happened. The Government ran its course doing average good work. All without evidence of Catholic dictation, or control, from high or low.

In the same issue, strange to say, was an editorial which set forth the past conduct of Catholics with practical correctness; not a word was said, in relation to their past, which cast a reflection upon them, or their behaviour, political, or otherwise. But when, in forced self protec-

tion, they left the liberal party, they became intensely evil and mischevious!

Howe, in one of the debates of 1858 refering to the conduct of some, or one, of the Catholic publications said: "The Reverend Mr. Rand is an educated, pious, Baptist Minister. How often has he been styled Roderick Random, denounced, ridiculed and scoffed at, because he ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~without the~~ permission from the Pope, to study the Mic-Mac language, and perform the duties of a missionary among the Indians. I hold in my hand a Catholic publication in which the Reverend Mr. Uniacke is described as "the Unicorn of the Round Church," "the bellowing bull of Bashan, from Dutch town." And in which the Reverend Mr. Martin is called "wretch," the hoary criminal of The Guardian, (a bitter anti-Catholic newspaper), an old sheep-whistling rogue, and ram tender, a deformed beast of grace."

No one can justify such language, no matter how great the provocation. With reference to Mr. Rand, he assumed the position of a proeslytiser. His work consisted in an attempt to seduce the Indians from their Christian faith; a task generally discountenanced. So far as his study of the Mic-Mac language went he was within his rights, and did a very useful work in that connection, which, through Provincial neglect, has been practically lost.

In the summer of 1853 the Synods of three

Presbyterian bodies met, and appointed committees on various matters of interest. They held meetings in February 1856, and amongst the subjects considered were "the encroachment of Romanists" which it was resolved to resist. There may possibly have been something they regarded as encroachments. An opinion is not called for, but in the absence of facts to justify their assertion, it may be confidently said that no Priest ever went into a Protestant congregation, or community, in Nova Scotia after the manner of Dr. Rand, seeking to make converts in a wholesale manner.

The Catholics, whatever they may have felt or thought, did not publicly complain of those Synodical meetings, or their action. If they did Howe would have founded an accusation upon it.

The following quotations, taken at random, will serve to show that Catholics, if at all, were not the only grievous offenders in reviling their fellow citizens.

On the 3rd of January, 1857, "The Presbyterian Witness," after violent denunciation of Catholics, and their religion, said:—"It is not a question between Liberals and Tories—It is a question between Nova Scotians and Foreigners; between men of peace and *assassins*, between Protestants and Romanists; between men who love Queen Victoria and honor her, and men who are abject slaves of the Popes of

Rome. A man who is cold or neutral in such a struggle, does not deserve the name of Patriot or Christian." This was said six weeks before the government was defeated. It shows that it was not the Catholic vote on that occasion which caused the storm.

Hon. J. W. Johnston referred in the House to the fact that his efforts on behalf of Acadia College endowment had resulted in St. Mary's being also endowed, and "The Witness" comment was:—"So it was owing to Johnston that St. Mary's is endowed by the Province, thus directly aiding the spread of Popery, that masterpiece of Satan's craft—How many nunneries, and *monkeries*, may be endowed by him we know not."

"The Morning Chronicle" of March 17, 1857, under the heading:—"The Genius of The Catholic Religion," said: "History tells us that the spirit of her Religious System is a persecuting, and intolerant spirit, which slaughtered men for the Glory of God; which is inimical to Civil, and Religious, freedom; which suppresses freedom of speech, and liberty of conscience, wherever it gains the ascendant. History tells us that the genius of her religion has washed its hands in the blood of myriads of Protestants; that it imprisons and tortures men for their religious opinions; that it ferrets out, and incarcerates the Madiais and DeMares of the nineteenth century; and it refuses the right of

burial to the dead bodies of Protestants in countries where it holds undisturbed sway and casts them into the sea."

"Such being the genius and spirit of that religion, which has recently seized the reins of civil Government in this Country, should not all Nova Scotians who love their Country, unite at once to *wrest their stolen birthright* from the hands of this intruding "genius?"

Another appeal addressed to Protestants was "surely you have reason to contemplate with the most gloomy apprehensions the future of your country; its Government seized and held by a spiritual despotism, the bitter enemy alike of science, education and civil and religious liberty, and the whole of its State patronage, worth \$9000.00 per annum, in the gift of the same spiritual power, and by it dispensed to a band of impoverished office hunters, who are bound by the ties of gratitude, and self interest, to carry out the designs of their ghostly master in all things."

The theory that Protestants had the exclusive right to administer Government affairs to the exclusion of Catholics had much to do with promoting and aggravating the conditions then prevailing.

The new Government had been formed, and had but two Catholics in it, neither of whom held a Departmental office. †

Scores upon scores of other rabid appeals



were made. One writer said: "O, ye Protestants of Nova Scotia, can you look silently on, and see Romanism binding you with her chains, for well you know that where Romanism is predominant, there liberty must cease to exist."

Another writer, a Clergyman, and a Professor of Divinity, said of the Protestant Alliance:—"It is not a partisan movement, True it has a leaning upon politics, because one of the principles is to *subordinate politics* to the grand interests of Protestantism," which meant in part at least, its political interests.

"The Chronicle" of January 15, 1858, concluded an article thus:—"Rome is doing by Johnston and his Government just as the boa-constrictor does by its victim. He winds himself softly, smoothly, and gradually, around it, then folds grow tighter till they crush out the life spark, and when it has been licked and lubricated, the serpent monster swallows it up, hoofs, horns, bones and all. And here in Nova Scotia the process is progressing to her heart's desire. And Father Hannan's procedure is one more soft coil." This referred to Dr. Hannan's attendance at Government House on New Year's day through the private *entree*.

Nothing of the kind suggested happened, and Catholics were not awarded any special favours, and so far as known, did not unduly press for any.

ABaptist Minister said in the "Chronicle"—*"The mother of harlots is bent on pursuing one great object;"* while another writer in the same strain said:—"She, the Catholic Church, has one sole end, aim, and object, and that is the utter extinction of every thing Protestant upon the face of the Globe."

In the Chronicle of March 17th, 1857, was a letter from Reverend John Murray which said: "I feel convinced that the Protestant Alliance will become a power in the Province, and will prove more than a match for the *craft of Jesuits.*"

In the Session of 1858 Howe made a very bitter speech for the general election of 1859. In large part it was untrue, and where not so it was unfair. Referring to the riot he said:—"An armed band took possession of our public works, committed atrocious outrages on a body of *unoffending* Protestants; they were protected by a Catholic combination carried by intimidation and perjury through the Courts, and then to boast that all this was done in the name of religion, was hurled in our face as a warning for the future."

This, apart from the riot itself, and the alleged throwing of a four pound weight in the Court room, was unsupported by proof.

Howe's version, touching the weight was so expressed as to convey the belief that it was thrown at a crown witness during the trial of

the rioters. Young's statement did not support that view. The story that came to him was that a witness from Pictou, was in the Court room some days preceding the trials and the weight was *dropped* near him from the gallery. Nothing was said to show whether he was a Crown witness or otherwise. If thrown during a session of the Court, whether at a witness or not, the Court would have ordered an inquiry unless satisfied that it was an accident. If deliberately thrown, some of the Court Officials or spectators, would have observed it.

If thrown, it was merely the act of some irresponsible scoundrel; but Howe, of course, assumed it was the act of a Catholic, an Irishman, and formed part of the designed Catholic purpose to defeat justice. Others, of the same disposition of mind he was then in, had an equal right to assume it was the act of some of his angered supporters towards a Catholic witness.

He proceeded:—"At length came the crowning outrage and indecency when, in midsummer last, a body of Catholic Prelates, assembled in the heart of this Protestant Province, denounced the Scriptures, and hurled defiance at the spiritual guides of the great mass of the people." This was founded upon the notion that the Protestant Bible was the only Scripture known to the world.

"Now when this letter, (a Synodical one), was published, this defiance given, when all that

we held sacred was treated as reprobate and untrue, when this open attempt was made to break down the authority of that volume, upon which all our hopes of happiness hereafter, all our religious liberties in this world, rest, can the Solicitor General be surprised that Protestants everywhere should see the necessity of organization, that those prelates should be rebuked, and the country protected from insult hereafter. (They had formed and organized, the Protestant Alliance many months before the letter in question was published, and some of his offensive letters had also appeared.) These gentlemen have given expression to their feelings in the document put forth by the (Protestant) Alliance. I desire to give expression to mine in the resolution which I now lay upon the table, and which I shall move at a future day."

He never recalled it. It had done its desired and intended work in his speech, and was abandoned accordingly.

The resolution was:—"Whereas Christianity is the only true basis upon which a sound system of education can repose—Resolved:—That no school, within the Province, shall be entitled to aid from the public funds, until it shall have been made to appear that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are daily read therein."

"Protestants have been compelled to combine, as they have combined here, in the United States

and Canada, and in all the British Provinces which surround us. The aggressive spirit of Catholicity, which has aroused our people, is everywhere the same. In Upper Canada Protestants of all shades of political opinions have been compelled to protect their common school system, and to rebuke the Priests by whom it was assailed."

In the course of that speech he quoted from that Synodical letter which, in reference to Catholic children said:—"They must be preserved from the thief, and the robber, and the ravening wolves of heresy and immorality, which threaten them on every side. Every good Catholic must be prepared, at any sacrifice, to resist the impious attempt to force upon the children books dangerous to faith and morals, not to speak of many other books which have been purchased out of the public funds for distribution amongst Catholic children. We do not consider the English Bible, whose innumerable errors have been admitted by the most learned Protestants themselves, to be the word of God. We do not regard the English Protestant version as a true or entire, copy of the Bible, for not only is there a studied corruption of texts, but many of the Sacred Books are pronounced apocryphal, or omitted altogether. We do not consider it a proper book for Catholic youth, stamped as it is by the reprobation of the Church."

“With our united voice, and authority, we not only give you this solemn warning<sup>a</sup> as regards the danger of mixed schools, but we enjoin upon you the duty of guarding both yourselves, and your little ones, against the poisonous drug of infidel, and immoral books and newspapers, which are in daily circulation, even in remote parts of the country.”

The Bishops realized the necessity for plain, strong, terms to be addressed to their flocks. Conscientiously believing, as they did, in conformity with the teaching of the Church in separate schools where religion should be taught, a religious atmosphere created, and sound ethical principles imparted, and that they were necessary in the moral, and spiritual, interests of their people, they surely could publicly, and in the manner and terms best adapted to reach and influence them, contend for their creation, without being regarded as opposed to the public school system, or desirous of destroying it. Equally so were they under obligation to inform their flocks that, from the standpoint of the Church, the Protestant Bible was incomplete, and differed materially from that which the Church had, during ages, so laboriously gathered, compiled and preserved, and held to be the inspired word of God. This was but the exercise of their Christian duty and though not in harmony with Protestant opinion, could not be ignored. Any other view exposed them to the



charge of recreancy and being mere hirelings. Moreover it became an essential step on their part, by the course pursued against the Church, and its members by the strife agitators.

While quoting the above portions he ignored other parts of that letter. They were given by John Tobin at pages 284-5 of that debate, and are:—"An unfounded charge has been brought against us in many forms: it has been alleged that the Catholic Bishops, and Clergy, were determined to deprive Protestant children of the use of their Bible, their Catechism, or their formulas of faith. The charge is untrue. No such attempt has been made; no such desire is entertained by us; but we feel it our duty to publish to the world, on this occasion, that those who make this absurd, and groundless, charge against the Catholic Clergy, are themselves guilty of what they falsely allege against us."

"For your own welfare, as well as for the success of the religion you love, we hereby exhort you, to show forth and to defend the faith which is within you, more by works, and holiness of life, than by words and professions. Be honest and industrious, sober and moderate. Be gentle, kind, and charitable, to men of all religious persuasions; perform every duty of a Christian, a good neighbour, and a law abiding, and devoted citizen. Allow no man to outstrip you in the discharge of what you conceive a duty, and your progress in the race of honour, and of virtue,

will be the proudest and most effectual proof of the supremacy of your religion."

Howe further said:—"We all know perfectly well the efforts which the Catholic Hierarchy have made in the United States, and in Canada, to overthrow, and destroy, the common school system. And we all know that they have signally failed in the United States, though their failure is not so signal in Canada; when therefore the Catholic Bishops assembled in Halifax, put forth their manifesto declaring "that no effort should be spared to secure, if possible, the blessings of a thorough Catholic education in the schools of the district in which Catholic children live"—the public were justified in believing that an attempt would be made in this Province, when the Government proposed to remodel the school system, to introduce a system of separate, sectarian schools. If this was not meant by the manifesto, it meant nothing; and that it did not mean anything was shown by the language of the organ of the Hierarchy in this city, which told us in its usual off-hand impudence, "that it published the manifesto in order that any views of the Catholics might be clearly understood, and that trouble might be avoided."

"Is it not clear then that the aggressive spirit displayed by the Catholic Priests all over the continent, has created, and is creating, a necessity for Protestant activity in organization?

The Solicitor General fancies that this Alliance will not last; perhaps not, but he may be mistaken. So long as the spirit displayed at Gourlay's Shanty is rampant here, so long as treason to our Sovereign is openly preached and rewarded, so long as Governments are thrown down that Catholics may show their power, or gratify their revenge, so long will this Alliance endure, When the necessities in which it originated have passed away, if ever they do, it may pass away also. But that learned gentleman may be assured that this "monstrous" combination, as he was pleased to call it, will endure until its work was done.....But the Solicitor General tells us that Protestant Clergymen should keep out of politics. Why? Are they less intelligent, or less interested in the prosperity of the Province, than the Catholic Priests, who have no families, no social ties, and yet are ever dabbling in politics where they happen to be? Are Protestant ministers to stand by and see treason preached, education perilled, its sacred groves violated, and criminals going unpunished? Are they to hear scoffing and insult, and see their Bible denounced, and hold their hands while Catholic Priests lead their flocks to the hustings, and overturn and form, Governments as they please?"

In the light of what these pages reveal, and a great deal more of much the same character, which must be left to slumber undisturbed in

musty newspapers, and debate volumes there is not much, if any, necessity to point out the errors of fact, and history, the false constructions, and untrue imputations of evil designs, in respect to Catholics, which abound in Howe's speeches and letters. They are known to the well informed. Catholic conduct meanwhile affords a conclusive answer. Modern history refutes them, and space forbids further effort. Because of his previous long and close intimacy, and co-operation, with Catholics, it is difficult to believe he had any confidence in the truth of the sentiments, and intentions, he imputed to them or the misconduct he charged them with.

His conduct previous to the defeat of the Government, and before the Synodical letter, made Catholic action imperative; and who could better speak on it, especially in regard to religious education, than the Hierarchy, whose bounden duty was to act, and speak, in the spiritual interests of their people, with a warning voice, and to labour for religious instruction in schools, which the Church has always regarded of absolute necessity. Reason, and experience, prove that good morals cannot exist in the absence of definite religious principles. What but this absence has bred the many young criminals now with us, steadily increasing, and so numerous that it seems difficult to staff a public, or municipal office without one, or more, of them? The exclusion of religion from the ed-

ucation of youths, it has been well said. "must cause a gradual lowering of the moral formation of the people. Furthermore the sceptre of the fireside has in so many cases been broken and the moral magistracy of the parent overthrown." (Darcy McGee).

The Divine Command to the Church, through the Apostles, to teach all nations, was not limited to Apostolic days. "Among the many instruments she employs in the execution of her commission in that respect is the Christian School where religion and secular knowledge are inseparably united to train the heart, the mind and the body of the Catholic child." (Bishop McDevitt, D. D.) Moreover the Bishops have regarded it as containing the charter of her educational, and religious rights, and duties, and therefore to be enforced in season, and out of season; and, so regarding them, it was their duty to warn, advise, and exhort, their flocks against, what they deemed present, and apprehended, dangers, to persevere in the faith, and to educate their children on the lines which the Church had always, and everywhere, followed. The scope of the teaching she sought to enforce embraced everything that makes for the spiritual well being of her children, including secular, and religious education. In their attainment she met with every obstacle, and difficulty, that human ingenuity, and perversity, could interpose, often backed by strong public opinion, and some



times by statutory enactment. In this connection she patiently endured many severe disappointments, and made many untold sacrifices. The church, however, inspired by that command, guided by Her spiritual leaders, and supported by the faithful, never faltered. She has always taught that religion is a vital thing, as necessary to the life of the soul as the air we breathe is to the life of the body, and therefore that it should follow us everywhere, and enter into every action of our lives, and consequently should be implanted in children's minds at an early age through the schools, as well as in the homes.

George Washington declared that:—"reason and experience both forbid us to believe that civic morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

She has today the proud satisfaction of knowing that religious instruction in schools is now quite generally regarded as essential in the interests of humanity, and that such belief is constantly growing.

Howe's resolution, if enacted into a Statute, would force the reading of the Bible into all our schools. The difficulties attending it in schools, where pupils of various beliefs, or of no belief, attended, must be obvious to all. It would be tyranny to compel the Jews to listen to the New Testament; it would be the same to Catholics to hear any of the several Protestant versions



which differ more or less from each other, and materially from the Catholic one. Passages dealing with the Divinity of Christ would be offensive to Unitarians, while Evangelists might justly complain of passages which appeared to them to smatter too much of Anglicanism. The list can be extended.

Mr. Johnston the leader of the Government spoke and said:—"Nova Scotia gives her children these blessings (liberty of conscience, and equality in civil, political and religious rights) in their fullest perfection, and the opposition was of an audacity that would be incredible were it not enacted before our eyes, to urge the Protestants of Nova Scotia by voluntary combination to subvert the principles of civil and religious liberty, and in that violation to inflict on their fellow subjects a present indignity, injustice and outrage, while they would, by the same act, undermine the foundation of their own most valuable privileges, by creating a precedent under which any other denomination would be exposed to similar indignity, should the vicissitudes of political affairs, or the movements of religious jealousies, induce like combinations against them.

"Unhappy the condition of those whose civil and religious freedom is abridged by a power they cannot control; but what folly and baseness would be theirs, who would themselves impair the blessing, and by their own act, inflict a wrong

against their highest constitutional privileges, which, were a foreign power to attempt, they would resist to the last extremity. Yet such is that which the Protestants of Nova Scotia are asked to do. To delude them into compliance, religion is prostituted, temperance made an engine of party, the public works, and provincial progress, and improvement, opposed; and calumny and falsehood are the means employed.

“Without the excuse of acrimonious religious controversy—the exasperated, with no reason beyond the promptings of their own selfish and disappointed ambition, now raise “the wicked cry.” They go much further; they urge Protestants against Catholics in a rancorous enmity in the unworthy endeavour to strip one portion of their fellow subjects of their constitutional privileges, as the penalty of their religious opinions, that they themselves may step into power. On their own showing, as contrasted with themselves, can degradation be deeper, and can we listen to the mockery of their Protestant cry? Deprived of office, and seeking only to return to power, regardless of truth, and reckless of consequences, forgetful of former obligations, and mindful of only their own sordid interests, the opposition would excite, throughout the Province, strife, rouse the fiercest passions of men’s nature, and array fellow citizens, and fellow subjects, against each other in the deadliest hatred. They will not succeed; the

people of Nova Scotia will not, cannot, be so forgetful of their own and their children's welfare as to bring back to power a set of men holding doctrines, and pledged to a policy, so pregnant with direful consequences to the present and future peace of the Country, so destructive of civil and religious liberty, so opposed to the spirit of our constitution, and the rights of conscience."

The authors of that Synodical letter believed, and upon very strong grounds, that the Protestant Bible was incomplete, and contained mistranslations of portions of the original, that words had been interpolated and omitted materially changing the sense and meaning, and therefore liable to mislead, and they were supported in their views by some able Protestant writers; so believing, it was their bounden duty to warn their people against its general use in schools attended by Catholic pupils. They went no further. A denial of that right meant a denial of religious freedom, and of the exercise of a duty of vital importance towards the flock committed to their care. Howe's course, backed by his party, made the declaration a necessity on their part. He laboured to create the impression that the Hierarchy and Catholics were seeking to destroy the school system. But he did not, and could not, offer a particle of evidence to sustain it. The advocacy of separate schools, nor their operation, could not impair it. It

meant, at the worst, two systems operating side by side, and so far as the separate side was concerned, he knew that in this "Protestant Country," as he so often, and endearingly called it, there was no danger of the latter, in those days at any rate, being aided by public moneys, and in that respect, the public system would probably be helped; certainly not injured.

The Catholic Church, her Hierarchy, and people, have always earnestly contended for separate schools, and for religious instruction accompanying ordinary secular education, so as to produce well balanced minds, suited to the needs of every day duties of life, and sustained and guided, on the other, by sound moral, and religious, principles to safeguard, and direct, the proper use of the former. They have pursued that course steadfastly, and persistently, through all kinds of obstruction, ever since denominational sects came into being; all without injury to the public schools system at any time or place.

Catholic endeavours to provide such schools and the results they produce, have had the effect of bringing many outside the church, to regard them as both wise and necessary, and that spirit is growing, at least in English speaking countries.

Dangerous and alluring, temptations assail the youths of today from every quarter, and in every form. Can the Churches

and Sunday Schools, guard effectually against them, even when supported by home efforts? Judging from the enormous increase of crimes too many agencies cannot be employed, nor too many precautions adopted, to that end.

It can be said with much force that the existence of separate schools in Quebec, and Ontario under the law, and in the United States without legal sanction, has not injuriously affected the public schools. In the latter country the non-Catholic public have been, in a monetary sense, relieved from heavy burdens, which would have to be met in providing school buildings, teachers, equipment, etc., for the Catholic children.

Many Protestants, while perhaps conceding that the Synodical letter was a correct exposition of Catholic belief, and opinion, might perhaps, complain that its language was over strong; but the responsibility of its framers was great. They realised that responsibility, and the necessity for it towards their own people; and, conscientiously believing that separate schools were necessary in their spiritual and moral interests, they surely could publicly, and in the best manner adapted to reach and influence their flocks, contend for the creation of such schools without being regarded as desirous of destroying the general

school system. There was nothing in it to support such an imputation.

The continuous efforts of Catholics everywhere to provide and maintain separate schools, to secure the results just suggested, are well known, and coupled with the enormous expenditures thus made, attest the force and sincerity of their convictions.

Those of the United States expend about a hundred million dollars, each year, in providing, and maintaining, them, besides contributing their quota in support of the non-Catholic, public schools, in common with the non-Catholic public. The city of Baltimore spent nine millions in the last three years in its Catholic school work alone,—besides its contribution to public schools. If the ordinary education public schools impart is not reinforced by sound religious instruction, it is but a flimsy bulwark to resist the growing evils, and temptations of every-day life.

Dr. Murray Butler, a Protestant, and the very able, close observing, head of Columbia University (N. Y.), in his recent Annual Report, quotes from the Pastoral letter of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to their people, a statement to the effect “that tens of millions of men, and women in this land are seen who acknowledge no connection with religion, and as a result a large proportion of our children are growing up without



religious influence, or religious teaching, of any sort." While stating definitely that religion is an essential element in education, he added:—"The outstanding fact, however, is that both the family, and the Church, have abdicated as systematic, and serious, teachers of religion, and that is why the condition exists to which the Pastoral letter refers in so uncompromising terms....The Roman Catholic Church alone, of all the many different branches of the Christian church in the United States, makes serious, systematic, efforts to give genuine religious training to the children of its faith."

If education is limited to mere lay instruction, leaving out religion, the chances are fairly strong that the product is liable to be somewhat conscienceless, and that the possessor will not worry about principles ordained to guide Christians in their relations towards God, or their dealings with the world.

In 1858 when Young, apparently to arouse further sectarian bitterness, moved a resolution of censure upon the Government condemning the appointment of Catholics to some unimportant offices as "tyrannical and unjust," and made a very offensive speech upon it, and when he declared their unfitness for office, he knew they had never been tested; but he knew they had elected him a good many

times, twice by acclamation, to the Assembly. He would, therefore, of course, concede, that while, in his view, they were not fitted to exercise political power, or hold office, they were eminently qualified to make most excellent selection of those to wield political power, and derive prestige and personal gain from it! No fair minded person, knowing the scarcely nominal position they held in political, and official life, and his election by them for many years, can read his creed without being pained by its ingratitude, its lack of truth and its injustice and oppressiveness.

Howe, sought to show by instances, from history and his own opinion, the evil record of persecution, violence and intolerance of the Catholic Church and of the Irish people.

While presenting such a serious indictment against them, he ignored the existence and effect of the Penal, and other cruel, and oppressive laws, which were devised, and enacted, by Protestants, for operation against Catholics in England and Ireland and even here. So far as England was concerned they were enacted in 1691. What Edmund Burke said of them is too well known to need repetition, beyond this, that amongst other evils, he enumerated "They were well fitted for the *abasement* in the Irish people of human nature itself." History furnishes other instances of a like character. One only need be mentioned;

that of the King of Sweden who expelled all Catholics from his kingdom because of their faith.

The historian Lecky, (a non-Catholic) Vol. 2, page 277, (England in the 18th Century) after referring to them, and other evil agencies operating in Ireland, instances a provision for the exchanging of the children in the Cork, and Dublin, workhouses, in order to prevent the possibility of Catholic parents interfering with the Protestant education of their children, and adds:—"In this indeed, as in nearly all other Irish matters, the determination to sap the religion of the Catholics was conspicuous. Poor parents, whose children were taken from them, by force, to be educated as Protestants, must have been often reduced to a wretchedness which no words can describe." Multitudes of such children died, as the result of exposure and fatigue from the journey, often over one hundred miles, in clumsy carts.

To all this was added the horrors of that monster, the slave trader!" Fair maidens, and youths, were seized, and carried shrieking to slave ships, and sold to West India planters to wear out their lives as slaves under the lash of the plantation overseer. For thirty three years these ghouls took their toll of Irish lives—a toll estimated at many thousands—none lower than 20,000 and some as high as 100,000

This seems incredible, but it is true. "The Soul of Ireland" (Lockington) page 126.

Until the Emancipation Act of 1829 no Catholic took part in the Government of Ireland. The laws disqualified him.

An English member speaking in the House of Commons of the conditions in Ireland, the outcome of the penal, and other barbarous laws, said:—"The Priest and the pauper, famishing together; the high road a charnel house; the land a chaos; a ruined proprietary, a panic-stricken tenantry; the soil untilled; the workhouse a pest; desolation, death and despair reigning throughout the land."

Lecky further, page 279 says:—"Of the many depressing influences I have noticed in the foregoing pages there is, perhaps, no one that may not be paralleled, or exceeded, in the annals of other countries; but it would be difficult, in the whole compass of history, to find another instance in which such various, and such powerful, agencies, concurred to *degrade the character and blast the prosperity*, of a nation. That the greater part of them sprang directly from the corrupt, and selfish, Government of England, (a wholly Protestant one, it may be remarked), is incontestible.....and it is a circumstance of peculiar aggravation that a large part of the legislation I have recounted *was a distinct violation of a solemn treaty*.....No serious re-

sistance was attempted. The commercial legislation which ruined Irish industry, the confiscation of Irish land, which disorganized the whole social condition of the country, the scandalous misappropriation of patronage, which at once demolished, and impoverished, the nation, were all directly due to the English Government, and the English Parliament. The blame of the atrocious Penal Laws rests, it is true, primarily, and principally, on the Parliament of Ireland; but it must not be forgotten that this Parliament, by its constitution and composition, was almost wholly subservient to English influence, and that it was the English Act of 1691, which, by banishing Catholics from its walls, rendered it exclusively sectarian."

The same writer, having in mind the wholly savage, and brutal, restrictions, and penalties, affecting Catholic Priests, and people, in Ireland, in relation to the practise of their religion, at page 306 says:— "Illegal combination was consecrated, when it was essential to the performance of religious duty. Illegal violence was the natural protection against immoral laws. Eternal salvation, in the eyes of the great majority of the Irish, could only be obtained by a course of conduct condemned by the law. Irish crime has very rarely been connected directly with religion."

In further commenting on the Penal Code,

Vol. 1, page 312, he said:— “The Penal Code as it was actually carried out, was inspired much less by fanaticism, than by rapacity, and was directed less against the Catholic religion, than against the prosperity, and industry of its professors. It was intended to make them poor, and keep them poor, to crush in them every germ of enterprise, and degrade them into a servile caste who could never hope to rise to the level of their oppressors. The division of classes was made as deep as possible, and every precaution was taken to perpetuate it, and embitter it.” One instance in this aspect need be mentioned. The Priest who married a Catholic and a non-Catholic, on conviction, suffered hanging!

Grattan, an eminent Irish statesman, speaking of the Penal Laws says:—“The poor were struck out of the protection of the laws; the rich, out of their penalties.”

Dubois, a distinguished Frenchman, in his work “Contemporary Ireland,” 39, says:— “By the Penal Laws it was sought to keep Papists in misery, ignorance, and slavery, and this with no purpose save to assure Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.”

Another Protestant writer, Lynd, says:— “The net effect of the Penal Laws, upon Protestant Ireland, was to taint the whole body politic with profound, and widespread, cor-



ruption. The oppression made agitation and resistance, a *stern necessity in Ireland.*"

T. W. Russell, a liberal member of the House of Commons for many years, and a non-Catholic, in his book on "Ireland and the Empire," says, page 132:—"It is intolerable that, because of religious, and conscientious, convictions, the Catholic youth of Ireland, should still be denied the priceless privilege of Higher Education. Thirty years ago Mr. Gladstone admitted the grievance; so did Lord Hartington, and the Liberal party of the day. Evil influence prevented a settlement. The grievance is still (1901) intact and the country suffers." It was not until 1908 that a University acceptable to Catholics was established.

At page 206, he says:—"When the Irish national system of education was founded in 1833 the great mass of the people were, as a matter of fact, illiterate. This condition did not arise from choice; it was one of the hardships attendant upon the Penal Laws. The Roman Catholic gentry, and clergy, had to be educated abroad; the mass of the people had to go without training at all." Legislation was at one time enacted to prevent their being sent abroad.

Lecky also said. "In 1833, four years after Catholic Emancipation, there was not in Ireland a single Catholic Judge, or Stipendiary.

All the high Sheriffs, with one exception, the overwhelming majority of the unpaid Magistrates, and of the grand jurors, the four Inspectors-General, and the thirty two sub-Inspectors, of police, were Protestant. Not a single Irishman had a seat in the Cabinet. For many years promotion had been steadily withheld from those who advocated Catholic Emancipation, and the majority of the people thus found their bitterest enemies in the foremost places. The reason why Sir Robert Peel refused to give equal rights to Catholics was "that there were 4,000,000 Catholics to 800,000 Protestants in Ireland, and if equal rights were given to Catholics they would have a preponderating influence in the State!"

At present there is a Bill before the Imperial Parliament to repeal sections, or provisions still in force, of no less than nine English penal statutes affecting Catholics, or their religion, some of which were enacted in 1549, 1559, and others in the 18th century, while some were as recent as 1829, 1832, 1844 and 1860. Under some, or one, of those statutes, it is a crime for a Catholic procession to parade a street, for a Priest to officiate in a church with a steeple, and for a religious order to take in new members. They are not invoked but they remain as evidence of intolerance.

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\*Since the foregoing was written most these enactments have been repealed. But under the law as it still stands—A Catholic cannot become the Sovereign, nor Lord Chancellor, nor presented to an Anglican living—Even a Jew has the latter privilege.

Those who denounce Irishmen as turbulent, and too prone to engage in fighting, would do well to remember, that for centuries, they were forced to fight, unceasingly, for even ordinary liberty, very often for life, always for prosperity and the right to exercise their religion, and to preserve their faith, and that of their children, which they cherished above all else. The ruling powers thus forced them to become fighters.

[The eminent John Morley, who knew far more about the Irish than Howe, said this about them, (quoted by Father Lockington in "The Soul of Ireland," page 28):—"I for one have long had a high appreciation of the great qualities of the Irish people. They have done the greatest part of the hard work of the world. Generations of Irish peasants have reclaimed the land, the hard thankless land of the crag, and the mountain side, knowing that the fruit of their labours would be confiscated in the shape of rent. And the Irish have piety; they have reverence, and *they have had only too much docility*. They know how to follow leaders, and I am persuaded there is in Ireland out of which, with true freedom and responsibility, you may build a solid nation, worthy to take its place among the other nations that have the British flag waving over them."

Laws were enacted, history fully attests it, aimed at the systematic degradation of that

nation. Catholics were almost denied the right to live, and dying, their children were to be entrusted to those of an alien faith: Priests, and schoolmasters, were felons, outlawed and hunted.

When forces were surrendered on terms Priests were excepted,—the penalty of death awaited them and, according to one proclamation, any person, who harboured, or concealed, a Jesuit, a Priest, a Friar, or Monk forfeited his life and estate. For over two hundred years the celebration of Mass was prohibited, yet it was offered daily despite this.

During the dreadful famine years, and for some time later, Ireland was “a poorhouse and a cemetery.” “Her valleys rang with the moans of the starving, and dying, and her hillsides smoked from the torch of the destroyer, and evicting land lord.”

Three thousand starving people during the famine of 1846-48 sought admission to a poor house in one day; and eight bodies were found one morning against its railings who had died from starvation during the previous night.

It was not in Ireland a case of a majority, proscribing a minority, but a comparatively insignificant minority backed by English support, and fortified by intensely cruel laws,

ruthlessly enforced, proscribing and penalising an overwhelming majority.

At page 151 Russell says: referring to landlordism in Ireland:—"It had all been founded upon actual, if not legal, robbery; it had been worked by savage and revolting cruelty; and at 197 "The Irish landlord is the creation of the State. These men have served as the English Garrison in Ireland for centuries."

Statutes were passed in 1870, 1881, 1887, 1890, and 1896, and perhaps later, to remedy these evils. Their numbers show the begrudging spirit, and their inefficiency in providing a speedy and effective remedy. At page 215 Vol. 2, Lecky makes reference to the legislation applied to Scotland and says:—"That the Country's progress was due, so far as legislation was concerned, to four causes:—(1) the establishment of the Church of the great majority of that nation; (2) the introduction of an admirable system of parochial education, in which all classes could participate; (3) the destruction of the feudal privileges of the Highland Chiefs; and (4) the removal of all restrictions on industrial and commercial enterprise. By these measures religious peace was secured, a high standard of general knowledge was diffused, the authority, and impartiality of the law courts were established, and an industrial civilization was created."

“In Ireland the course of legislation, on all these points, *was directly opposite*. The chief advantage of the establishment of one form of religion is that it secures the religious instruction of the poor. The Irish establishment was the church of the poor *in the sense that they paid for it, but in no other*. Its adherents were certainly less than one seventh of the population, and they belonged exclusively to the wealthiest class—and this astonishing establishment was mainly supported by tithes—Pasture land was almost entirely exempted from them; thus the great graziers, and almost by far the richest of the agricultural population, were nearly free, and the whole burden was thrown on the tillers of the soil. The mass of the Irish Catholics were cottiers living in an abject, hopeless poverty, on plots of potato ground, often not more than ten or fifteen perches. The tenth part of the produce of these plots was rigidly exacted from the wretched tenant for the benefit of a clergyman who was in violent hostility to his religion, whom, in many cases, he never saw, and from whose ministrations he derived no benefit whatever.”

In many cases, Lecky proceeds to say, the clergymen farmed out his tithes, for the whole period of his incumbency to “tithe procurators,” who were amongst the most rapacious, and detested members of the community.



The tithes upon grain produced the fiercest resentment. It was, that writer says the source of a large part of the Whiteboy outrages, which convulsed the South of Ireland during the latter half of the last century, and of innumerable murders, riots and savage outrages, in the early years of the present century, and it is no exaggeration to say that until the act was passed in 1838 for the commutation of tithes, the religious establishment in Ireland (by which he meant the Church of England) was, next to the penal code, the most powerful of all agents, in demoralising its people."

The laws, thus referred to, it has often been said, operated as a sword in the hands of the oppressors of the Irish, and thus they were taught, nay compelled, to look to their violation, sometimes to crimes, and rebellions, as their only means of defence in their welter of extreme misery and despair. None of such laws served as a friend, or protector, to them.

Lecky also says:—"A majority of the Irish members turned the balance in favor of the great democratic reform bill of 1832, and from that day there has been scarcely a democratic measure they have not powerfully assisted."

If the character Howe gave the Irish was, in any measure, true they would not have possessed the good qualities such actions displayed.

Another harsh instance of British legislation towards the Irish may be mentioned.

O'Connell was elected for Clare in 1828 by the vote of the forty-shilling freeholders despite the powerful and determined opposition of the gentry and the landlords. A new election became necessary because of O'Connell's refusal to take the offensive oath of qualification for membership. In the following year the British Parliament by Statute deprived the freeholders of their votes; and thus left future elections in the hands of the landlords and gentry. It strongly emphasises the intolerant and undemocratic spirit of the British Legislators of these days.

The foregoing historical references and observations are made in answer to Howe's anti-Irish, and anti-Catholic accusations in support of his campaign.

He was well aware of those brutal laws, and of the history of their savage enforcement during hundreds of years. It is therefore much to his discredit that he employed the results they naturally produced as proof of the evil qualities of the Irish.

There are other instances of tyranny and proscription nearer home which were not caused by the Church, nor by Catholics. For example:—"Prior to the Act of Union in 1841, which united the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, each had its Legislative Assembly, and

Upper Chamber. The Governor ruled over both provinces through an Executive Council of his friends, chosen by him from the most prominent men of British extraction in the country. Matters were bad enough in the Upper Province, but the Executive Council there were of the same race as the people; but in the Lower Province, *although four-fifths of the inhabitants were of French descent*, not a single member of the Executive was of French descent, and all the public offices, and the emoluments attending the same, were in the hands of an alien race. The dissatisfaction, arising from this state of affairs, culminated in the rebellion of 1837, one outcome of which was the suspension of the constitution. When Lord Durham, later on, came out to investigate affairs he found the people of Lower Canada, removed, as they were, from all share in the government of the country, brooding in sullen silence, over, amongst other things, their humbled nationality. They ascribed their wrongs to the English oligarchy at Montreal who controlled their affairs, At that time the population of Lower Canada was about 600,000, and 350,000 of them were of French extraction, while the population of Upper Canada was less than 400,000, nevertheless the Act of Union provided one Legislature, and an equal number of representatives, for each province, despite the fact that population, if regarded in that respect,

would have given the Lower Province three-fifths of all the members, This situation left the French Canadians completely at the mercy of the English race. They received at least some measure of relief through the Upper Province members becoming split into sections, and the French members joined the section which was most willing to grant their demands." The foregoing is, in substance, taken from (*The Vansittart Memoirs*, by Mr. Cameron, Registrar of the Supreme Court of Canada and a Protestant, pages 17 and 18.)

It will thus be seen, that while the conditions just mentioned existed, the French people of Lower Canada, mainly Catholics, were proscribed. In the same connection, see Sir Gilbert Parker's "*Old Quebec*," pages 458 and 459, where he says, referring to the grievances Lord Durham came to remedy, amongst which were the practical exclusion of French Canadians from political power leaving all positions of trust and profit in the hands of the English minority for although they numbered only one in four of the inhabitants, this privileged class claimed both political and social, supremacy as though by inherent right. Further Lord Durham found an explanation of antagonism, not so much in their unjust exclusion from political power, as in the grudging and churlish patronage with

which privileges were, one by one, conceded. The loyalists were intolerant to a degree—regarding every favour shown to their rivals as a slight put upon themselves.”

## HOWES' CONFESSION AND APOLOGY



HEN Young became Chief Justice in August 1860, Howe assumed the office of Premier, and held it until after the Liberal defeat in the general election of 1863.

In May 1862, and probably long before then, Howe realized that Protestant public opinion was becoming hostile towards the Liberal party, and cast about him for a method of securing the safety of his Government. The cry for united Protestant action, which carried him to victory in the last general election, had served its purpose. It was fast dying, or was already dead, and there was no hope of its resurrection. Many who assisted him in it, became convinced of its insincerity. His only hope lie in recalling the Catholics to his banner again, and that task he undertook in part by writing the following letter to the Honorable John McKinnon and Hugh McDonald, both leading Catholics, the former a member for Antigonish County—the latter, a member for Inverness:—

May 28, 1862.

GENTLEMEN:

For many years the constituencies you represent, and those who share their opinions (meaning the Catholics), gave me their confidence and support, We were separated in 1857 by *causes over which they had little control*, and they, of late, have had no share in the govern-



ment of the country, and are still unrepresented in the Upper Branch of the Legislature.

Having by justice, and courtesy, in the conduct of administration for the last two years shown that I have no desire to injure, or oppress, any class of Her Majesty's subjects, I am happy that it is now in my power to place at your disposal honorable positions which will enable you to watch over, and protect, the interests of your friends, and to bring your local knowledge to the aid of the Government, and of the Legislative Council.

I desire to do this in the most frank, and open manner, avowing that my policy is to strengthen the administration, by securing the adhesion of a large, and valuable, part of the population, and to throw open, as opportunities may offer, the highest offices of the country to those qualified to fill them, and to those who enjoy public confidence without distinction of origin or creed.

"If you, after due reflection, and consultation with your friends, are disposed to re-establish the kindly relations out of which so much public advantage resulted in times past I shall be prepared to submit McKinnon's name to the Lieutenant Governor to fill the vacant seat in the Legislative Council, and advise the appointment of McDonald to the office of Solicitor General, with a seat in the Executive Council."

The opposition press naturally stigmatized

this as a flagrant attempt at bribery, McDonald replied to the foregoing on June 7, 1862. Both letters appear in "The Recorder" of February 28, 1863, The first paragraph quoted Howe's offer, and proceeded:—"Leaving Mr. McKinnon to take such a course as he deems right, I can only say, for my own part that, as you are aware, I took my seat in the Assembly in the Conservative interests, and have given that party my support throughout, in opposition to the Government of which you are the leader. I did so without, so far as I am aware, being factious, or obstructive, and with a view to my own consistency and the best interests of my country."

"While the party, with whom I have hitherto acted in the Legislature, have not abandoned any of the principles which they have made their platform, I have failed to see such a change in the political condition of the country, or government, as to justify me in taking the step proposed."

Mr. McKinnon did not accept the offer, An answer from him has not been discovered.

Those who read the quotations from Howe's letters, and speeches, contained in these pages cannot avoid greatly surprised feelings at the tenor of Howe's missive to two, at that time, of the leading Catholics of Nova Scotia; both members of the Legislature. He expressed an obvious truth when he said the Catholics

were separated from the Liberal party in 1857 "by causes over which they had little control." Howe held and used unsparingly, the bludgeon which drove them out of that fold, From at least the beginning of 1857 until after the close of 1859, he exhausted every artifice, and every accusation, possible, without regard to truth, or fairness, to blast the good name of Catholics, and degrade their Hierarchy, and from the time he became head of the Government, early in 1860, until he wrote that letter, "they had no share in the government of the country, and held no seat in the Legislative Council."

It may be true, as he said, "he had not in that interval shown a desire to injure, or oppress Catholics," but it is certainly true, and his letter admits it, he took care "they had no share in the government of the country." He was however, willing in his then political necessities, and this without crying "Peccavi," or offering an apology or excuse, to take into his political embrace those whom in the period named, he denounced as traitors, persecutors and unprincipled citizens and declared "they should be excluded from all official positions, and deprived of the power of defeating Protestant Governments," thus ensuring through that process a permanent form of that kind of Government. In those days Catholics, in his view, were "a foreign

body," a "pestilent faction," "disloyal, persecuting, and intolerant," but now they were "a large and valuable part of the population." Before then they were not to be entrusted with offices, Now "the highest offices in the country would be thrown open to them!"

"The kindly relations of the past" (meaning prior to the religious warfare), between him, and his party, on the one hand, and the Catholics on the other, "out of which so much public advantage resulted" were acknowledged in order to sweeten the bribe he offered. But the iron of the strife had sunk too deeply, and Catholics' memories were mindful of the ingratitude, and the deeply searing, and blasting reflections, they endured at his hands, and were not willing to trust their reputations, and their interests, to one who for political purposes, had proved himself so unworthy. They remembered that his course alienated liberals from them, while at the same time it was designed to prevent their being received into the Conservative party, and thus leave them without the friendship, or sympathy, of all non-Catholics.

Further comment is not called for, except to observe that his letter fully justifies many, perhaps all, the—to some—harsh observations applied to his motives and language in the warfare.

Two causes began to operate as early as

1860 to end the raging strife, These were:—

One—The new liberal Government, and party, as already stated made no particular attempt to carry out the policy they clamoured so loudly for during the political and religious storm they created. While it is true they did not in action proscribe Catholics, they were careful to show they did not recognise their existence until 1862 when Howe as Premier fearing early loss of political power, offered substantial promotion, as already stated, to Messrs. McDonald & McKinnon,

Two—Archbishop Walsh, who was in very ill health for years, and was on the Continent part of the time, died in August 1858 and was succeeded as Archbishop by Bishop Connolly of St. John, who began his administration here as Archbishop about the spring of 1859—perhaps somewhat later. It is a noteworthy fact that “The Authority,” The Head of the Archdiocese, which was so persistently maligned by those leading and supporting the strife, immediately after his instalment as Archbishop, rendered most effective service in smoothing the troubled waters, restoring peace, disarming anger and destroying suspicion in the minds of non-catholics of the evil intentions of such Head, and of Catholics in general towards Protestantism.

As a devoted Catholic he abhorred religious strife, and being likewise an ardent Christ-

ian, he laboured earnestly and diligently to end it, and to heal the wounds and bruises it had occasioned. He possessed great tact, kindness of heart, and wonderful diplomatic capacity, and through the exercise of these, and other excellent Christian qualities, including a generous disposition, and an intense love of fair play towards all, he soon disarmed hostility, and peace and concord reigned where religious strife with its inexcusable bitterness and savagery had raged furiously for years. The conduct of the Catholics in abstaining from all references to the struggle and all recrimination contributed materially to the same result.

In a speech in Temperance Hall reported in the Chronicle May 29, 1867 Howe said:—

“I will only touch upon that unfortunate dispute which divided from my side the Catholic body to say that no man in the country regretted it more than I did. *And no one looks back with less pleasure than myself, upon that unhappy episode.*”

He was reported to have expressed himself more regretfully, and apologetically on the same subject to an audience in Mason Hall a short time before, at which many Catholics were present by special invitation.

That such strife may never show its features in the future should be the Prayer of all Christians as it is that of the writer.







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Meagher, Sir Nicholas Hogan

The religious warfare in Nova  
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